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ABSTRACT

This collection, the last of four volumes on the history of compulsory education among the nations of Europe and the western hemisphere, analyzes statistics, methodology, reforms, and new tendencies. Twelve of the document's 18 articles are written in English, 3 are written in French and 3 are in Italian. Summaries accompany most articles; three of the foreign language articles have English summaries. Bibliographies are included with many selections. Titles and authors are as follows: "From the Methodology of Pedagogical Study of Obligatory Education" (Wlodzimierz Goriszowski); "Les Peres de l'Ecole Obligatoire Pris au Piege de la Statistique Scolaire (1876-1906)" (Jean-Noel Luc); "Primary Compulsory School at Viareggio (1860-1900)" (Luciana Bettalla and Fanny Coli); "School Attendance in The Netherlands" (Th. F. M. Boekholt); "L'Offre d'Ecole Avant l'Obligation Scolaire: L'Enseignement des Premieres Enquetes Bataves (1799-1811)" (Willem Frijhoff); "A Danish Reform Concerning the First Years of School" (Hans Vejleskov); "The Vanloese Experiment: New Education in Compulsory Education in Denmark in the Twenties" (Ellen Norgaard); "Historical Development of Compulsory Education in Socialist Countries (1917-present time)" (Gottfried Uhlig); "Parents and Compulsory Education Laws in England & Wales (1880-1980)" (Geoffrey Stevenson); "Prospettive dell'Istruzione Obbligatoria in Italia" (Luigi Ambrosoli); "La Continuite Scolaire et 'l'Ecole de Base' en Italie: Aspects Historiques et Perspectives" (Giovanni Genovesi); "Formazione Generale, Orientamento per gli Studi e/o per la Professione nell'Elevazione dell'Obbligo Scholastico al 16 Anni: La Questione Italiana, Oggi" (Vittorio Telmon); "From Optional

to Compulsory: The Introduction, Development and Extension of 'English' in Norwegian Compulsory Education" (B. Brandtzaeg Gundem); "Reforms and New Tendencies: Norwegian Compulsory Education (Olav Sunnana); "Compulsory Education in the Canary Islands" (Pedro Sosa Also); "Compulsory Education in the United States: Its development and Some Recent Considerations" (Erwin v. Johanningmeier); "La 'Compulsory Education' nel Contesto Sovietico" (Giorgio Vuoso); and "A New Look at the Act of Teaching FL Reading" (Yvonne Poser and Gunter G. Pfister). (CJH)

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION: STATISTICS, METHODOLOGY, REFORMS AND NEW TENDENCIES

CONFERENCE PAPERS FOR THE 8TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STANDING CONFERENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Edited by
GIOVANNI GENOVESI

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VOLUME IV

UNIVERSITÀ DI PARMA - "BOLLETTINO" C.I.R.S.E.
PARMA 1986

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Versate l'istruzione sulla testa del popolo: voi gli dovete questo battesimo.

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5

STATISTICS AND METHODOLOGY IN RESEARCH ON COMPULSORY EDUCATION

FROM THE METHODOLOGY OF PEDAGOGICAL STUDY OF OBLIGATORY EDUCATION

Wlodzimierz Goriszowski

Pedagogical study, from the historical point of view, is of great importance and have many functions, among others the following: a/ cognitive function. It delivers knowledge about different organizational and substantional ideas of obligatory education and about a main trends in the building of the maximum efficient educational system's, and also the school system's, against a background of the atate's policy, the needs of political groups and the representatives of society - the members of parliament. It makes possible learn to know a different opinions and argumentations form development main principles of educational system, such as following principles for example: principles of universal, laic democratical /vertical and horizontial democracy /school; b/ innovational function /for on the one hand they make functional assessement possible, and, on the other hand, they create positive motivation for the development of the organizational, methodological and ideas/. By the historical knowledge are cumlated the good experiences and, in this same time, moderately social development and growth of educational needs, are proposed a new values; c/ technological function /knowledge about trends in their historical development allows for the development of methods and organizational techniques of the didactic and educational system by the standards of social needs of given period/; d/praxiological function. The study leads not only to the improvement of knowledge but also to know-how in the building of the maximum efficient and modern educational system's, for example in the range of school network, school organization and school institutions, and in create the parallel educational system.

Efficiency of pedagogical study is closely connected with the right construction of the methodological workshop, and this is possible only when there is rational use of the achievements of other sciences, that is, among others, of philosophy, history, logic, psychology and sociology. The didactic and educational process is conditioned by both philosophical ideas and, above all, by social and economic trends of a given historical and political period. Thus, in the pedagogical study the analysis, can not be omitted and neither can the statements and data characteristic for social investigation. It will also have its own consequences as far the choice of method, technique and investigation procedure go. It will cause to historical continuation of educational investigations too.

In the last hundred years /1885-1985/ the dominating strategies in the pedagogical study referring to obligatory education were:

- strategy of philological study, based on the detailed description and philological analysis either of the educational system, which exist in a given period or of the didactic systems of the kinds types of school education or only of its particular elements, such as being interested in learning in learning the particular subjects in the class-lesson system, interdependence of forms, methods and means of teaching with the activity of pupils on the lessons, function of principles and methods of teaching, the obligations of teachers. By applying this strategy the investigator analysed the work of schools in different periods of time /formations and historical periods/ pointing out the positive exampless, worth generalizing or the negative examples, which are necessary avoid. In such a way many works discussing the particular didactic systems, both the class-lesson and the individualized teaching, have been written /for example Peterson's work schools, Daltonian system, Washburne's system, and recently, the Modern School of Freinet's Techniques/.

The value of these monographs depended mainly on the fact that they created the ground form the development of experimental pedagogy, began at the turn of XIX th century, and for the development of comparative pedagogy. The Polish pedagogues personally studying differererent systems of obligatory education described the goals, organizational curricula and results. Particulary in the inter-war period /mainly in the 1930 th - years/ appeared whole series of the publications at that theme;

strategy of empirical study developed mainly at the beginnig of the XX century. It depends mainly on the experimental study and it referred to different stages of the educational process. Supported by the statstical method, it allowed for the discovery of many interdependencies in the organized pedagogical process. It was of great importance in the practice of pedagogical activity, as it made it possible to catch the reasons of the inefficiency of certain activities and it showed the right methodological solutions in the obligatory education of pupils. The empirical studies don't admitted of global catch of problem, and rather allowed successfully for the analysis of the effectiveness of the educational processes, for example research-works from the end of the last century lay's, Meumann's, Claparede's, H.Köster's Ch.Bühler's. In this place merit at emphasize were studies on interdependencies between the height, weight and the physical development and the results of learning, physiological studies on the reading process in the elementary education, and psychological studies on the reactions of the children;

strategy of historical study is of enormous importance in the development of the theoretical pedagogy. The analysis of the particular historical sources, as well as of the whole sets of records, gives a view of the functioning of a given period of the school system as a whole, as well as of the particulae component elements such as, for example, the system of training teachers for obligatory teaching, evolution of selection of selections and of the programme /contens of curricula/, control of the obligatory schools, substantial activity of the teams of teachers, formation of cooperation between the school and the environment, and others.

The historical study has a culture-creating aspect for a given country and nation. They allow for continuity of traditions in the field of national education on the level of obligatory education. Particularly would be here support the analysis of the school chronicles, the school administration's documents, the post-control minutes, the school accounts, the correspondence from school's and educational administration's archiva, the Seym meeting minutes, where was analysed the problems of education, and the political parties projects. Necessary is an awareness of the confines, it means that it isn't possible analysed and evaluated the school situation from today point of view and form an actual possibilities and present understanding of social-political functions of education; but in every case take back that analysis to the presen epoch, to the concrete political situation define country and nation, and to the existed tendences;

strategy of comparative study. In the history of pedagogical thought, it was created in the XVIII th century and, it has been developing ever since. It is of significant political and social importance. In the field of obligatory education it makes it possible to observe the general trends in the creation of systems and educational systems in the different states about a various political orientations, and in the innovational solution of modern technology of education. Within this strategy in the XVIII th and XIX th centuries two phases dominated, that is, the ones of description and of juxtapposition, and only in this century the third phase of comparative study is realized in every country, that is, interpretation from the point of view of possibilities of applying the experience of one country in another. This strategy, developed by the UNESCO, is actually on the priority place.

The educational comparative studies on the problems of the obligatory education, the organization obligatory learning, and the administration, have of great imprtance both for the development pedagogic as scientific discipline, in that area for school organization theories too, and for the development methodological instruments and educational terminology. In the history of the camparative studies just in XVIII th century were exhibited descriptions of the experiences different states and the experiences individual authors twoo, to attach smaller importance to the functional analysic of represented contens. Second limit was the reference of the comparitive problems to concrete, practical operations, instead of to evaluations analysis of the actual educational systems in the area of obligatory education.

Only just in 40 th-years ours century the comparatists take up the analysis in the macro-scale. These comparative studies was carried out in many countries.

In the development of the strategy of comparative studies was very engaged for example IEA and BIE.

For the pedagogical progress of significant importance is not only the study but also its adjstment to the goals and targets of obligatory education, and then the choice of the right strategy and the construction of an efficient methodological workshop. There is, namely, a close connection between the carried out scientific research and the development of educational discipline. The hypotheses and their verifications by means of various strategies lead to the formation of new theories, to the formation of truth and their justification. This is what that dynamic of discipline development depends on.

However, it is necessary to have a historical knowledge deal with main trends of actually carried out studies and obtained results, to see the perspectives of changes that have taken place in the construction of an effecient system of obligatory education in defined country, as well as in another states.

Methodological correctness of the study requires that the particular stages of social development be taken consideration, and for educational studies are necessary many reading study, analysis of records, confrontation of oral accounts with the printed materials and above polimethodology in the research that has been carried out.

The sense of the historical knowledge about concrete educational studies lead the way as well as to the perfection of the methodological field of research activity and to the representation of the continuation and actualisation contens of these studies, breaden about the new experiences. The results of these studies lead the way to created the new theories, to discovered the new principles, well to the development pedagogic as the scientific discipline and in that area theory of organization and educational administration, as subdisciplines.

LES PERES DE L'ECOLE OBLIGATOIRE PRIS AU PIEGE DE LA STATISTIQUE SCOLAIRE (1876-1906)

Jean-Noël Luc

"Si une bonne statistique de l'enseignement est en tout temps nécessaire, elle l'est surtout sous le gouvernement républicain qui, se préoccupant vivement de l'instruction (..) a besoin d'être renseigné d'une manière très précise (..) sur les changements successifs de l'état des choses afin d'agir avec sûreté" : cette déclaration de la Commission de statistique de l'enseignement primaire, en 1877, exprime parfaitement les attentes des nouveaux responsables à l'égard de la statistique des écoles (1). Ils lui demandent les informations nécessaires à la préparation des réformes et une appréciation des résultats.

Sous l'argument technique,perce le projet politique. Comment prouver, un jour, l'ampleur présumée de l'oeuvre républicaine sinon en organisant, comme le souhaite J. Ferry, dès 1879, "une enquête précise, méthodique,montrant (..) les progrès réalisés et ceux qui restent à accomplir" (2).

L'administration n'a pas attendu les républicains pour tenter de réaliser ce programme. Depuis les années 1820, la statistique de l'enseignement primaire est dressée tous les ans, sauf exception, et, depuis la Monarchie de Juillet, ses résultats sont épisodiquement publiés. Mais, l'appareil statistique légué à la République est imparfait,et les nouveaux responsables s'emploient, d'abord, à l'améliorer. Pour mesurer plus rigoureusement les inscriptions et la fréquentation, ils imaginent de nouveaux procédés qui donnent au ministère les moyens d'apprécier, après 1881, les effets de la loi sur l'instruction primaire obligatoire. Mais, curieusement, les nombreuses publications officielles ne divulguent pas certaines informations précises recueillies par l'administration.

La statistique républicaine : héritage et innovations

Trois grandes innovations peuvent être mises au crédit des réformateurs républicains : la création d'organismes spécialisés, la publication automatique des résultats et la réforme des investigations.

Jusqu'en 1875, la conception et l'exploitation des enquêtes relèvent d'un bureau du ministère, préposé à d'autres tâches. En 1876, pour réorganiser la statistique de l'enseignement primaire, W. Waddington établit, sous la présidence d'Emile Levasseur, une Commission permanente où siègent, entre autres, O. Gréard et F. Buisson. Trois ans plus tard, une bibliothèque centrale de l'enseignement primaire est créée avec un service de documentation statistique (3).

La République se distingue aussi en diffusant systématiquement les résultats des enquêtes scolaires. Depuis 1850, les comptes rendus triennaux institués par la Monarchie de Juillet ne paraissent plus. Pour renouer avec la tradition, V. Duruy a ordonné l'impression des chiffres collectés sur les années 1861, 1863, 1865 et 1866 et, le 7 août 1868, la publication quinquennale d'une statistique générale des écoles primaires (4). Mais son départ et les événements des années 1870-1871 ont perturbé ce programme. Les républicains font plus : ils réalisent effectivement, de 1876 à 1906, les rapports quinquennaux voulus par Duruy et, surtout, ils publient tous les ans, dans un volume spécial jusqu'à la fin du siècle, les principales données recueillies (5). Jamais ces bilans annuels n'avaient été, jusqu'alors, systématiquement portés à la connaissance du public.

La réforme des procédés d'enquête est la dernière contribution de la République - mais non la moindre - à la statistique scolaire. A la lumière des chiffres publiés depuis la Monarchie de Juillet, la Commission Levasseur entreprend, dès 1876, d'améliorer les investigations officielles. Un nouveau modèle de registre d'appel permet de relever, pour chaque demi-journée, les présences et les absences des inscrits. Ultérieurement - après 1896 -, les directeurs d'école sont invités à dénombrer les élèves déjà inscrits dans un autre établissement depuis le début de l'année.

Les principales innovations concernent aussi le cadre chronologique de référence et la population scolaire recensée. Elles traduisent parfaitement l'une des grandes préoccupations des partisans de l'obligation scolaire : connaître avec précision les nombres d'élèves *inscrits* dans les écoles et réellement *reçus*.

Les nouvelles catégories d'élèves recensés

Depuis 1859, la statistique relève - au moins dans les établissements publics pourvus d'un registre matricule - le total des enfants "qui ont paru à l'école depuis le 1er janvier jusqu'au 31 décembre, quel que soit le temps pendant lequel ils auront fréquenté la classe" (6). C'est une statistique "mensongère", proteste, dès 1860, l'inspecteur J.J. Rapet ; elle regroupe des élèves appartenant à deux années scolaires différentes - et dont certains n'ont jamais été reçus en même temps - et compte pour deux unités les enfants qui changent d'école en cours d'année (7).

Ce système d'enquête cadre mal avec les préoccupations des réformateurs républicains. En produisant un nombre excessif d'élèves inscrits, il néglige le problème crucial de la fréquentation et affaiblit les arguments statistiques en faveur de nouvelles initiatives gouvernementales. Dès 1876, la Commission Levasseur raisonne sur l'année scolaire et fait calculer, à côté du traditionnel total d'élèves inscrits, les présences possibles et effectives pendant chaque mois de l'année.

Le nombre des inscrits pendant l'année scolaire se rapproche plus de la réalité que celui attribué à l'année civile. On s'en aperçoit en comparant les chiffres recueillis au moment de la réforme : 4 716 935 élèves pour l'année 1876-77 contre 4 918 890 pour l'année 1877. La nouvelle période de référence diminue les effectifs d'élèves de 4 % au niveau national et de plus de 10 % dans certains départements (8).

Mais le nombre d'inscrits pendant l'année scolaire reste encore exagéré. D'abord, par les doubles emplois résultant des déplacements de certains élèves en cours d'année (4 % du total si l'on en croit le repérage institué en 1896) (9); ensuite, parce qu'il continue de prendre en compte tous les élèves admis à l'école quelles que soient leurs dates d'entrée et de sortie. Or, par suite des admissions et des départs successifs - légaux ou illégaux - entre la rentrée d'automne et les vacances d'été, le total annuel est inévitablement supérieur au nombre d'enfants inscrits ensemble à un moment quelconque, y compris à l'époque de fréquentation maximum. Comme le remarque elle-même la Commission Levasseur, "la statistique relève non pas à proprement parler le nombre des élèves, mais le nombre des inscriptions d'élèves" (10).

Pour mieux connaître la population des écoles, la Commission Levasseur décide, toujours en 1876, d'appréhender "la réalité même de la vie scolaire, jour par jour, classe par classe, (en prenant) pour unité, non plus l'inscription et la présence d'un élève pendant un an, un trimestre ou un mois, mais l'inscription et la présence d'un élève pendant une classe" (11). A partir des présences et des absences relevées, le matin et l'après-midi, sur le nouveau registre d'appel, l'administration calcule des nombres de *présences possibles* et *effectives* pour chaque mois de l'année et des moyennes semestrielles d'inscrits et de présents (12).

Ces nouvelles exigences statistiques ne sont pas séparables de l'action menée en faveur de la scolarisation générale et *réelle* des enfants de six à treize ans. En faisant recenser les présents, le ministère veut montrer les insuffisances des progrès antérieurs, mesurer les améliorations futures et, même, y contribuer en suscitant une prise de conscience défavorable à l'absentéisme : "Quand l'administration dit à l'instituteur qu'il ne doit pas laisser passer inaperçue l'absence d'un seul élève, explique la circulaire, déjà citée,du 1er mars 1877, elle dit par là-même aux parents que cette absence n'est pas un fait insignifiant".

L'intérêt des autorités pour la statistique scolaire rencontre ici leur désir d'améliorer - par tous les moyens - l'audience d'une école encore facultative. Mais, chez les responsables des enquêtes, l'objectif final est bien celui de l'obligation. En 1876, les victoires électorales des républicains laissent présager une nouvelle politique scolaire : en diversifiant les catégories d'élèves recensés, la Commission Levasseur anticipe, dans une certaine mesure,les réformes des années 1880. Lorsque, cinq ans plus tard, la loi rend l'instruction primaire, et donc pratiquement l'école, obligatoire, le ministère dispose d'un instrument d'évaluation et de contrôle déjà rodé.

Après le vote de cette loi, la Commission Levasseur affine encore ses investigations en réalisant des instantanés de la population scolaire à jour fixe. Dès 1883 et 1884, à titre expérimental, puis tous les ans à partir de 1886-1887, elle fait recenser les enfants inscrits et présents un jour donné de décembre et de juin, périodes de fréquentation maximum et minimum.

Avant le vote de la loi organique de 1886 et,même, celui des lois fondamentales de 1880 et 1881, rien ne manque aux autorités pour apprécier et faire connaître les effets de la nouvelle législation. Or, contre toute attente, les informations les plus précises sur l'assiduité disparaissent très vite des publications officielles. La curiosité des réformateurs aurait-elle été mal récompensée ?

La persistance de l'absentéisme : un sujet escamoté ?

Dans les trois collections qui divulguent les résultats des enquêtes à partir de 1876 - les rapports quinquennaux, les *Résumés des états de situation* et les *Annuaires* de la S.G.F. - l'administration se montre surtout bavarde au sujet des enfants inscrits. Cette population, traditionnelle, permet d'apprécier la répartition des élèves par sexe ou par type d'école ; mais, après le vote de la loi sur l'obligation, elle ne renseigne plus sur les limites de la scolarisation car les parents inscrivent, tôt ou tard, leur progéniture. Dès lors, la mesure des inscriptions a surtout un sens pour les enfants au-dessous ou au-dessus de l'âge scolaire. Ceux qui sont légalement obligés d'aller à l'école nous intéressent davantage par leur degré d'assiduité.

Or, sur cette question, la République est plus discrète... Le premier volume quinquennal, relatif à l'année 1876-1877, regroupe dans un chapitre spécial sur "la fréquentation effective" plusieurs moyennes et taux mensuels ou semestriels de présences (13). Dans les volumes suivants, ces indices ont disparu. Et pourtant, les présences possibles et effectives continuent à être calculées par les maîtres et, même, à faire l'objet, jusqu'à la fin des années 1880, de récapitulations au niveau des circonscriptions. Le lecteur des publications nationales n'en saura rien : il doit se contenter - une fois tous les cinq ans alors que, là encore, l'information est disponible chaque année - d'indices plus grossiers : le pourcentage des présents aux premiers jours scolaires de juin et décembre (deux dates connues d'avance) par rapport aux nombres d'inscrits pendant ces deux mois ou pendant l'année, ou le pourcentage des inscrits en juin et en décembre par rapport à l'effectif annuel (14).

La persistance de l'absentéisme explique probablement, en grande partie, la discrétion des autorités. La loi sur l'obligation n'a pas résolu tous les problèmes car le rythme scolaire s'oppose toujours aux impératifs du calendrier agricole. A partir de l'exemple du Doubs, J. Gavoille souligne l'impuissance de l'école républicaine à supprimer rapidement certaines habitudes. Au lendemain des lois Ferry, la fréquentation estivale s'améliore progressivement, mais, remarque cet auteur, la chute du taux d'assiduité - c'est-à-dire du rapport entre présences possibles et présences réelles - interdit tout optimisme : de 89 % avant la loi, il tombe à 84 % en 1885 et à

78 % en 1911 ! Pour se mettre en règle, les parents inscrivent leurs enfants à l'école pendant la belle saison - ce qui augmente la fréquentation estivale et le nombre des présences possibles -, mais, comme ils ne les envoient pas plus régulièrement en classe, les présences réelles et le taux de fréquentation quotidienne diminuent (15).

En fait, il faut attendre la fin de l'entre-deux-guerres pour que l'obligation scolaire soit mieux respectée au point de vue de l'assiduité. Les réformateurs des années 1880 et leurs successeurs escomptaient des progrès plus rapides. En publiant régulièrement les taux d'assiduité imaginés par la Commission Levasseur, ils auraient trop mis en évidence le caractère formel de certaines améliorations enregistrées après 1880. Sans doute ont-ils cédé à la tentation de limiter l'information officielle aux résultats plus flatteurs ou... moins décevants.

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Après la Monarchie de Juillet et le ministère de Victor Duruy, les années 1876-1906 représentent le troisième âge d'or de la statistique scolaire. En perfectionnant le système d'enquête et la diffusion des résultats, les républicains cherchent à démontrer le bien-fondé de leur politique et son efficacité. L'obligation scolaire et la gratuité donnent au chiffre toute sa valeur politique.

Mais l'instrument d'enquête amélioré en 1876 remplit trop bien sa mission : il révèle simultanément l'augmentation des inscrits et de la fréquentation estivale et la persistance de l'absentéisme quotidien. Pris au piège de leur curiosité, les responsables nationaux passent sous silence ce dernier résultat, désappointant. Jusque dans ses omissions, la statistique de l'enseignement primaire assume un rôle militant.

Les caractéristiques de la statistique républicaine inspirent aussi une conclusion d'ordre méthodologique. En 1876, comme en 1859, le ministère modifie la population scolaire de référence des enquêtes. Avant 1859, les inspecteurs dénombrent des populations hétérogènes : total ou moyenne d'enfants inscrits, présents ou ayant "fréquenté" pendant un ou plusieurs mois d'hiver et d'été. A partir de cette date, pour uniformiser le recensement, l'administration fait calculer le total des inscrits pendant l'année civile, puis, de 1876 à 1914, le nombre d'inscrits pendant l'année scolaire.

Il faut songer aux rapports de ces populations successives entre elles : la seconde (1859-1876) est très exagérée au regard des premières, la troisième (1876-1914) est plus modérée que la précédente. Ce facteur parasite ne retient pas toujours l'attention des chercheurs. R. Grew et P.J. Harrigan, par exemple, le négligent lorsqu'ils apprécient la scolarisation française au XIXème siècle en raisonnant, entre autres, sur les effectifs d'élèves et, surtout, sur la distribution diachronique des taux départementaux de scolarisation par rapport à des limites fixes (10 %, 20 %, 30 %, etc..). C'est oublier que les modifications de la population scolaire de référence entre certains repères traditionnels - 1866 ou 1872 et 1876 et, surtout, 1850 et 1863 - faussent en partie les résultats constatés (16). Dès 1860, d'ailleurs, des inspecteurs soulignent l'inanité de toute comparaison entre les nouveaux effectifs et ceux des années précédentes dont les bases de calcul sont différentes. L'histoire de la scolarisation française au XIXème siècle et de l'évolution vers l'école obligatoire ne doit pas ignorer l'histoire des statistiques de la scolarisation.

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1. Statistique de l'enseignement primaire, 1876-1877, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1878, p. X.
2. Statistique comparée de l'enseignement primaire, 1829-1877, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, p. V.

3. Arrêté du 15 mars 1876 (Bulletin administratif - B.A. - p. 201) et décret du 13 mai 1879 (B.A., p. 337).

4. Circulaire du 7 août 1868, (Circulaires... relatives à l'Instruction publique, 1802-1900, Paris, Delalain, t. IV, p. 605).

5. Voir les volumes quinquennaux de la statistique de l'enseignement primaire et les volumes annuels des Résumés des états de situation, relatifs aux années 1878-79 à 1894-95.

6. Circulaire du 30 décembre 1859 (Circulaires.., op. cit., t. V, p. 325).

7. Rapport sur l'instruction primaire dans les premier et second arrondissements de Paris en 1859 (Arch. Nat., F^{17} 9345, p. 15).

8. Statistique... 1876-1877, op. cit., p. 92-93 et Statistique comparée..., op. cit., p. CXIV.

9. Statistique... 1896-1897, op. cit., p. XCVII.

10. Statistique... 1881-1882, op. cit., p. LXXXII.

11. Circulaire du 1er mars 1877 (B.A., p. 182).

12. Le nombre des présences possibles est obtenu en multipliant le nombre des inscrits par celui de demi-journées de classe auxquelles ils auraient pu assister. Le nombre des présences effectives est calculé en soustrayant du nombre des présences possibles celui des absences constatées (total des demi-journées de classes manquées).

13. Statistique... 1876-1877, op. cit., p. 148-189.

14. Arch. Nat., F^{17} 10669-10690 et volumes quinquennaux de la Statistique.

15. J. Gavoille, L'Ecole publique dans le département du Doubs (1870-1914), Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1981, pp. 57-82.

16. Sur toutes ces questions voir J.N. Luc, La statistique de l'enseignement primaire, 19e et 20e siècles, Politique et mode d'emploi, Paris, Economica - INRP, 1985 et, du même, "L'Illusion statistique, réponse à l'article de R. Grew et P.J. Harrigan" à paraître dans les Annales ESC, 1986.

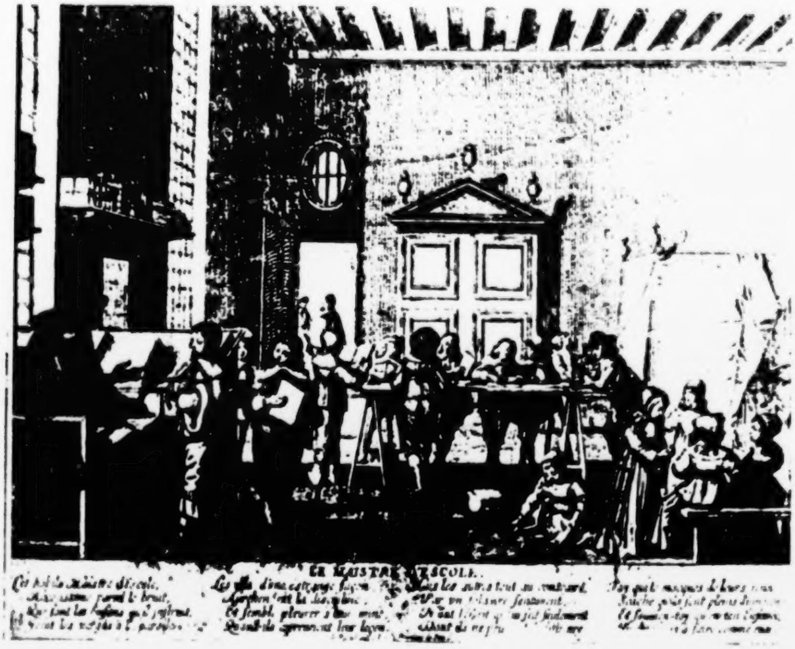
SUMMARY

In order to justify their policies and judge the results, the republican reformers improved, in 1876, the system of school statistics

left by previous regimes. In addition to the usual total of enrolled pupils, the administration showed both possible and real attendances for each month. But the new system achieved its aim too readily : it simultaneously revealed, once compulsory education was introduced in 1881, both the increase in annual and summer enrollments and the persistance of daily absenteeism. Victims of their own curiosity, the founding fathers of compulsory education deliberately ignored the last, disappointing result. Even in what is left out, primary education statistics play a militant part.

Furthermore, the new population of reference adopted in 1876 - and consisting of pupils enrolled during the school year - should draw attention to the different ways of calculating school attendance. Before 1859, the administration recorded a very mixed population (pupils enrolled or attending one or several winter and summer months) ; from 1859 to 1876, it counted the pupils enrolled during the civil year (a far higher population than before) ; from 1876 to 1914, the authorities recorded those enrolled during the school year (still more than before 1859, but lower than for the years 1859-1875).

Unlike the work of some researchers - such as R. Grew and P.J. Harrigan -, these changes should be taken into account before interpreting the way school populations evolve (or the indexes based on them). The history of french schooling in the XIXth century should not leave aside the history of the statistics of schooling.


LE MAISTRE D'ESCOLE.

Il maestro di scuola in una stampa di le Blond.

PRIMARY COMPULSORY SCHOOL AT VIAREGGIO (1860-1900)

Luciana Bellatalla
Fanny Coli

After National Unity schools, in Italy, were organized by Casati Law, which, according to contemporary scholars (1), failed in giving effective culture to all social classes. The needs of working-classes were particularly neglected, for primary school was only formally compulsory so that illiteracy was not defeated (2). Italian Governors and learned men were rather interested in leading-class culture (i.e. high and higher education), perhaps because they identified popular instruction with potential social revolution (3). On the other hand, socialists were a minority and the Left had no power till 1876. When De Pretis, the leader of the Left, became premier, the general trends of Italian internal politics did not change: Socialists remained a minority, middle class' interests drew the attention of governors with the "usual" detriment of working-men. However, industrial middle-class realized both the deficiency of a national conscience and the importance of schools as agencies of social control. The conditions of new socio-economic order required a trained and literate worker. But we must await for 1886 to find a new Law, the so-called Legge Coppino. Thanks to this Law, primary school became compulsory, even if its general conditions did not effectively change. Though the new Law provided for central economic funds to municipalities, nevertheless it ended by supporting big (and rich) towns, especially in the North of our Country (4).

In such a way, particularly in the South of Italy, many children - and more girls than boys - did not fulfil their school obligations. This is a general description of Italian educational situation, but, as Ricuperati says:

> "La storia dell'istruzione non può essere soltanto frigida storia delle istituzioni o delle dottrine pedagogiche, ma deve diventare storia sociale.... In Italia non mancano lavori sulla scuola dall'Unità ad oggi, ma non esistono affatto ricerche di storia sociale in questa direzione.... Quello che manca.... è una storia dell'istruzione che tenga conto di tutti i complessi elementi che entrano in gioco" (5).

The analysis of Italian schools, not en masse, but one by one, could be the first step in reaching the aim of a social history of education. So, let us take, as an example, the situation of Viareggio, during the second half of the last century.

During the last century, Viareggio - a little coastal town - was not rich, but, thanks to the activity of its harbour, was increasing its prosperity. It was a cosmopolitan town, heterogeneous in its social composition: there were seamen, traders, artisans. At the end of the century, seamen began to settle at Viareggio; the middle-class grew stronger; and, finally, economic activity changed from trade into turistic business, principally in the field of summer vacations.

From an ideologic and political point of view the people of Viareggio, even before national unity, were socially advanced and enlightened. During "Risorgimento", Viareggio sheltered some foreign learned and liberal refugees. This fact caused socio-political environment to become more advanced. In the second half of the century, local administrators were often socialist. The "Consiglio Comunale" (in 1862) established two primary schools (respectively for boys and girls) at Viareggio with a joint section (Scuola Rurale) at Torre del Lago, a hamlet of Viareggio. By this measure, the Municipality delivered local schools from Clergy, who monopolized education here, as in the whole Italy, before 1860.

Our analysis of primary schools at Viareggio will not obviously be exhaustive as we are considering a limited period (1860 - 1900). A diachronic and longitudinal research could be suggested, in order to formulate interpretative hypotheses on this particular case in the history of Italian school system.

The Municipality of Viareggio published, in 1869, a "Regolamento" (Regulations), which concerned primary school curriculum, the conditions of teachers' appointments, their duties and salaries. Nevertheless, economic difficulties hindered the practical translation of these rules (6). Though the economic situation partially repressed the activity of the Municipality - namely in building new schools (7) - some results were however obtained. These results were not of great entity, but they were important, because the general Italian educational politics - as stated above - was addressed to high education more than to popular one. The results concerned teachers conditions and the percentage of children attending school.

Teachers had at Viareggio a better life in comparison with the other Italian towns. To be appointed, a teacher, at Viareggio, was requested to have a diploma and to sustain an open competition. Besides, the teachers' office was sure, because the 1869 "Regolamento" prevented the teacher's discharge in case of illness and from abuses of school authorities, who, at that time, were not rare (see Scheme Nr 1).

Scheme Nr 1

Names of teachers who have been teaching at Viareggio and Torre del Lago (1862 - 1885)

1862: Vincenzo CESARI
Giuseppe RICCIONI
Adele MARTINELLI
Lavinia GIUSTI

1870/1872: Vincenzo CESARI
Giuseppe RICCIONI
Adele MARTINELLI
Zebina GIUSTI
Luigi SALANI

1883/1885: Vincenzo CESARI
Giuseppe RICCIONI
Francesco PECCHIA
Americo MORGANTI
Cesare GIORGETTI
Corrado CALLONI
Azzolina SIMONETTI
Lavinia GIUSTI
Maria BERTOLUCCI
Elvira DESIDERI
Cesira ARMIGOZZI
Luigi SALANI
Caterina FORNACIARI

From the economic point of view, men, and teachers of "grado superiore", were privileged in comparison with women and teachers of "grado inferiore" (as it usually happened). The salaries, however, were ruled by the laws, as the following schedules show

Tabella annessa all'art. 341 della legge Casati

Categoria e grado		classe 1ª	classe 2ª	classe 3ª
Scuole urbane				
superiori	maestri	1.200	1.000	900
	maestre	800	666,66	600
inferiori	maestri	900	800	700
	maestre	600	533,33	466,66
Scuole rurali				
superiori	maestri	800	700	600
	maestre	533,33	466,66	400
inferiori	maestri	650	550	500
	maestre	433,33	366,66	333

From AA.VV. L'istruzione di base in Italia, Firenze, 1978, page 171.

Salaries at Viareggio school, according to Casati Law

MASCHILI	FEMMINILI
Maestro di 2° grado L. 900,00	Maestra di 2° grado L. 600,00
Maestro di 1° grado L. 700,00	Maestra di 1° grado L. 466,67

A ciascuno dei maestri della scuola rurale di Torre del Lago L. 500 (57).

Tabella degli stipendi minimi legali fissati dalla legge 11 aprile 1886
(« Gazzetta Ufficiale » 23 aprile 1886 n. 95)

Categoria e grado		classe 1ª	Classe 2ª	Classe 3ª
scuole urbane				
superiori	maestri	1320	1110	1000
	maestre	1056	880	800
inferiori	maestri	1000	950	900
	maestre	800	760	720
scuole rurali				
superiori	maestri	900	850	800
	maestre	720	680	640
inferiori	maestri	800	750	700
	maestre	640	600	560

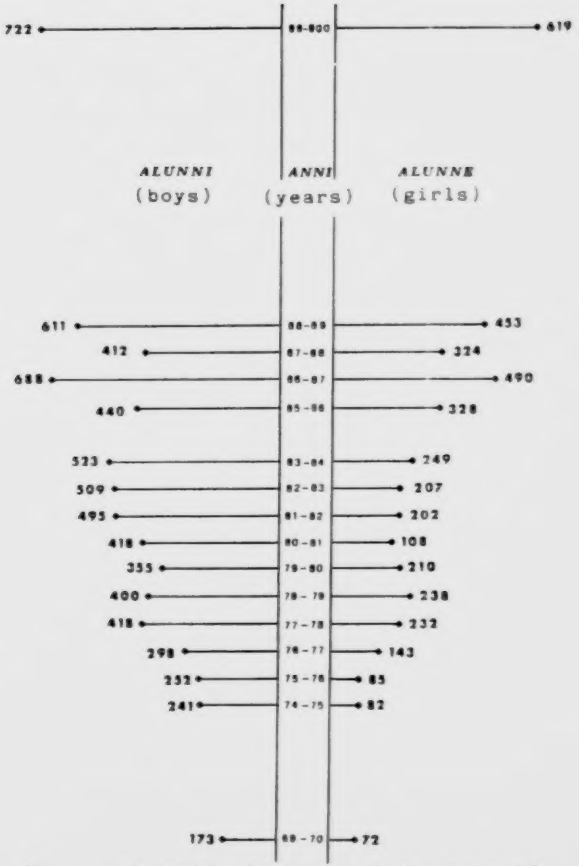
(See op. cit., page 179)

Salaries at Viareggio School according to Coppino Law

SCUOLE URBANE		
Superiori	maestri	L. 1000
	maestre	L. 800
Inferiori	maestri	L. 813,33
	maestre	L. 660
SCUOLE RURALI		
Superiori (63)		
Inferiori	maestri	L. 729
	maestre	L. 553,33

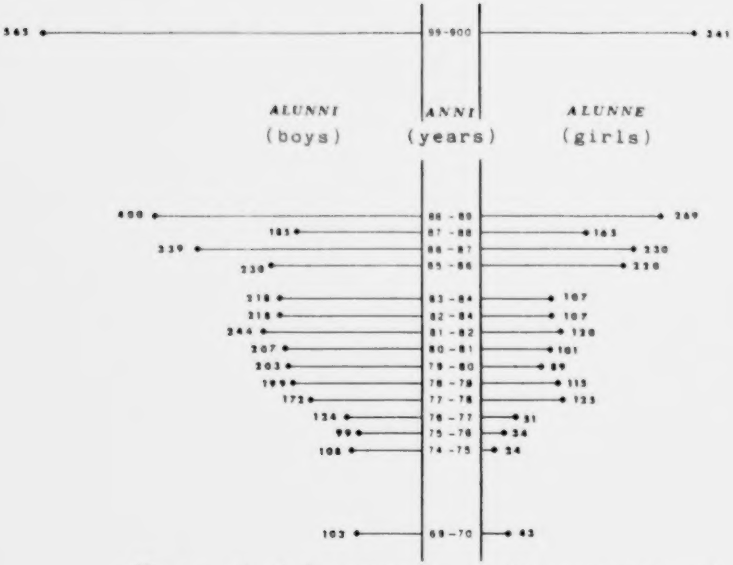
Nowadays, it is a cliché to say that, during the last century, primary school was not actually compulsory. Indeed, a lot of children entered the school, but they did not attend the classes and finally did not sit for their examinations. This happened also at Viareggio, as the following graphs indicate.

Nevertheless, we could note that after Coppino Law, girls, more than boys, fulfilled their school obligation even if they rarely attended high school.



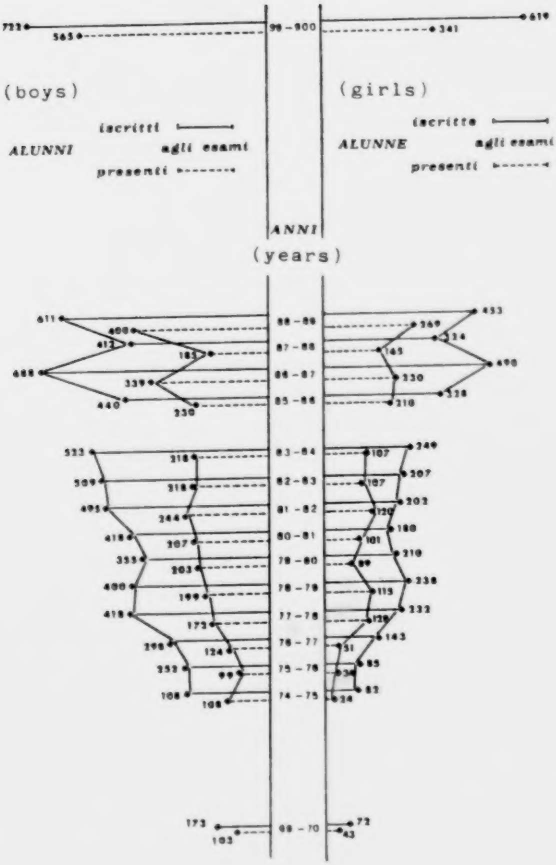
(Boys and girls who entered the school)

ALUNNI ED ALUNNE ISCRITTI IN VARI ANNI SCOLASTICI



(Boys and girls present at the examinations)

ALUNNI ED ALUNNE PRESENTI AGLI ESAMI



Differences between pupils who entered their names (continuous line) and those who sat for examinations (dotted line). We considered the period from 1869 to 1900.

We may formulate the hypothesis that the new socio-economic situation at Viareggio, with a growing middle-class, was the ground of this feminine training, however limited to three "R" ability.

The description of primary education, that the little town of Viareggio offers, cannot obviously overthrow the generally accepted interpretation of Italian school system after 1860; but let us consider that: i) learned men, during the last century, did not observe with attention the school situation of little towns, as De Sanctis or Gabelli demonstrate; ii) these micro-situations are meaningful, even if it is difficult to find statistical reports or documents about them; iii) a systematic analysis of these micro-situations will light up both a kind of unknown Italy and the whole Italian school system so to strengthen or to correct our current interpretations.

In fact, without a conscious revision, every judgement - also the rightest - runs the risk of becoming a slogan. Therefore, the example of Viareggio should be considered as a step on the long road of our historical memory, in order to know our past and to build up a better future.

NOTES

(1) See, for example, L. Borghi, Educazione e autorità nell'Italia moderna, Firenze, 1951; E. De Fort, Storia della scuola elementare in Italia, Milano, 1979.

(2) The illiterates were, according to the census in 1861, 75% of the population. The Minister of education, Natoli, in 1865, speaks of a maximum of illiteracy in Southern Italy (90%); in 1876, we find 52% of illiterates. At the

beginning of the new century 3.000.000 of children entered primary school, instead of 5.000.000, who were school aged (see AA.VV. L'istruzione di base in Italia, Firenze, 1978).

(3) See, for example, a letter of Frassi. He established at Pisa a nursery school before Italian Unity. To his critics, who expressed their anxiety for a school devoted to the sons of poor people, he replied: "Ristretta l'istruzione nei limiti da noi segnati, è vano ogni timore". (Reprinted in G. Genovesi - E. Catarsi, L'infanzia a scuola, Bergamo, 1985, page 23).

(4) See G. Ricuperati, La scuola nell'Italia Unita, in Storia d'Italia, Torino, 1973, Vol. 5, t. 2, pages 1703-1704.

(5) Op. cit., page 1734.

(6) School Inspector in 1871 writes: "Il Comune di Viareggio ha preveduto il bilancio per questo anno la spesa di £ 6186, ma dovendo far fronte, per la crescente domanda, all'impianto di due nuove scuole è necessario che il Consiglio Scolastico vi concorra con la richiesta di un sussidio". The "Consiglio Comunale" of Viareggio asked a financial support to Italian Central Government on the 27th April, 1872; but the situation did not change, so that the "Consiglio Comunale" was compelled to ask a new financial aid in 1890.

(7) On this subject, we could quote some reports of school or towns authorities, which denounced the serious hygienic and logistical needs; see, for instance, Statistica annuale, Ministro P.I., 1878. Oggetto: Locali scuole elementari di Viareggio; Delibera Consiglio Comunale, 1878; Relazione della Prefettura della Provincia di Lucca al Consiglio Provinciale Scolastico, 1884; "La Burlamacca" 25th August, 1875; Deliberazioni di Giunta, 10th October, 1898.

Acknowledgement. We thank the "Centro di Documentazione Storica" and the "Biblioteca Comunale" of Viareggio for having placed at our disposal the papers for this research.

RESUME

Avec cette communication nous prenons en consideration l'école primaire dans la petite ville maritime italienne de Viareggio, après l'Unité nationale, pendant la période 1860-1900. Notre but est de montrer, par l'aide de graphiques statistiques, comment dans cette ville, l'école primaire, quoique organisée et reglée selon les indications législatives de l'Etat (leggi Casati et Coppino) a obtenu des résultats particuliers, surtout pour ce qui concerne la pourcentage de la frequence scolaire. Cela ne peut pas, naturellement, renverser les interprétations communes de la situation scolaire et éducative en Italie dans la seconde moitié du dernier siècle; néammoins la condition de l'école primaire à Viareggio met au jour la complexité du système scolaire dans notre Pays et dénonce la nécessité d'étudier attentivement la traduction pratique des principes generaux des Lois dans chaque ville et dans chaque village.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

Th.F.M. Boekholt

1. *Introduction*

When the Netherlands became a unitary state statistical material about school attendance began to be collected for the first time. This was in 1795. Before this time this country was called *The Republic of the United Netherlands*, consisting of a number of independently operating provinces and cities with a common policy only in the fields of foreign affairs and defence. In those days education was a strictly local affair: the towns looked after the education of their own inhabitants, and for the rural districts there were separate regional regulations, to a large extent determined by local conditions. As a consequence collecting statistical material is far from easy before 1800. Systematic investigations, either on a local or on a national scale, have never taken place, and it is questionable whether any will succeed.

From the fact that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries city and village schools were densely scattered all over the country it can easily be concluded that many Dutchman in those days received formal education. Towards the end of the eighteenth century every village had its own school, which was in any case open in winter, and where the labourer's child sat next to the rich farmer's child. Parents who could not pay the school-fees could at least have their children taught how to read, and occasionally they were even forced to do so, when they depended on poor relief for their living.

This comparatively strong sense of solidarity had by that time been lost in the cities, which housed many independent groups, each with their own needs and therefore their own idiosyncratic educational facilities. Some cities could pride themselves on having a university, every city had a 'Latin' school (grammar school), which prepared pupils for the universities, further every city had a French school, meant for the upper middle classes, where modern languages and exact sciences were taught, and finally there was quite a range of elementary schools, from the mass charity schools to the exclusive city elementary school, where a thorough grounding was provided in the three r's: reading, writing and arithmatic.

In later literature these forms of education are not rated highly and their results are dismissed as rather poor. These verdicts are not based on facts. In addition to the fact that the dense network of schools points to a relatively high school attendance, the results of investigations into the question if grooms and brides signed their own names on the marriage-certificates point in the same direction 1). Such investigations have been carried out for a number of regions and cities. The conclusion can be that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Netherlands compared rather favourably with most of the surrounding countries. On a nation wide scale 24.6% and respectively 40.4% of the grooms and brides between 1813 and 1819 (so people who had received their education before 1800) did not sign themselves.

Further investigation has made it clear that the situation is much more complex than appears from the simple grand totals. Not all provinces provide the same picture, and literacy among protestants was much more widespread than among Roman Catholics, who during the Republic were repressed and could only attend schools with protestant schoolmasters. Furthermore a distinction as to birth generations shows a steady growth of literacy. For the country's capital the shift can be seen in the following table:

Table 1 Illiteracy among Amsterdam grooms and brides.

year	percentage of non-signing grooms	brides
1630	43	68
1680	30	56
1729/30	24	49
1780	15	36

II *Figures about school attendance at the beginning of the nineteenth century.*

A. *The questionnaire of 1799.*

The 'Agent van Nationale Opvoeding', to be equated with the Dutch Minister of Education, wanted to have data about school attendance as early as 1799. In order to take responsible educational measures in our country he of course had to know the facts. He drew up a questionnaire and asked the various 'departments' to inform him about such things as how many children had, on an average, attended school over the previous five years. The returns are still extant and we thus have the earliest national figures about school attendance, though they are, on account of the method of inquiry, not very exact and far from complete, due to incomplete returns 2). It is crystal-clear from this investigation that far from every Dutch child saw the inside of a school. Especially in the cities full school attendance was still something of the remote future. In the countryside many more children attended school, but only for part of the year, and moreover for much less than six years. After the winter months children were kept at home quite early to be made to work, in order to help add to the family's income.

In the Netherlands the ideas of the *Aufklarung* caught on too. Persons with an academic education and the more well-to-do bourgeoisie took a leading part in this, for they had a stake in a society whose every member functioned well thanks to a proper education. There was quite a lot of discussion as to the desirability of the introduction of compulsory education during the period when elementary education was being reformed (1795-1806). If everyone was to be an enlightened and useful member of society and if the schools could play a major role in this, then everybody should be able to attend them. The various higher and lower government circles furnished what money they could - and this resulted in a growing number of constantly improving elementary schools, but making attendance compulsory was as yet unacceptable to a large number of people. The major reason why part of the children did not attend was poverty: parents could not do without the income from their children's labour. As long as the living conditions of numerous households did not change, compulsory education could not be introduced and the only thing left to do was taking measures to encourage attendance 3).

B. *The 1811 survey.*

During the years of the French annexation (1810-3) the chief inspector for education, Adriaan van den Ende, drew up a report for his French superiors about the state of education in this country 4). In this report we also find figures about school attendance, which at any rate provide more reliable information than the 1799 figures: they refer to one year (1811), and are moreover divided into those for respectively the summer and the winter months. In the Holland departments of the French Empire at that time 190,000 children attended school out of a population of 1,900,000 souls 5). So according to this investigation - which was far from perfect in these early days of collecting statistical material - about 10% of the population crossed the school's threshold. This was far from being all children who could potentially attend, and it is in this period that the government thinks of making school attendance general by a national arrangement. Inspector Van den Ende tried to draw up such a general arrangement after the example of some departments that were in the process of introducing regulations making the payment of school-fees compulsory, and whereby those who could not afford them were forced to send their children to school on punishment of withholding their poor-relief. But his attempts to get every child to school failed. Making school attendance and school-fees compulsory was turned down in the highest government circles. In their view persuasion was to be preferred. Moreover, they argued, this was not the national government's task, but at most the local government's duty, which also collected taxes. These were arguments that carried great weight, and which were going to be used for years by the opponents of compulsory education.

III *National figures about school attendance 1815-1850.*

The period of 1815-1850.

The legally prescribed national education reports date from 1816 and thereafter. At first statistical data about attendance are not provided, or are incomplete, but in the course of the 1820's they are going to be a permanent part of the report. The published figures refer to the number of children that 'for a certain period of time' received education in a specified year. The data for these national figures came from the provinces and had usually been collected by the school-inspectors and boards of education. The latter did not always apply the same criteria when collecting, so that the interpretation of the material could cause problems. Some provinces collected their data by means of counts, albeit with quite a number of imperfections, other provinces specified the numbers of children registered for the collection of school-fees. They did not all of them go to school, though it might be expected that most of them did during the busiest season 6). In the government's opinion one sixth of the population could be taken to be of school-age 7). National figures permit us to present the situation as follows:

year	inhabitants	1/6 children of school-age	pupils	per cent
1825	2,285,663	380,944	247,429	65.00
1835	2,528,387	421,398	304,459	72.2
1845	3,053,984	508,997	382,370	75.0

Figures about school-going children as employed in governmental reports therefore tell us too little about school attendance. They at least provide no insight into the *degree* of attendance, which worried authorities most at the time, and which also interest us most of all whenever figures are given about school attendance and irregular or non-attendance. The problem of irregular attendance played a major role in all provinces and there it received at least as much attention as not attending at all. Anyone who really wants to know something about school attendance in the first half of the nineteenth century should not only examine the numbers of school-going children, but also the numbers of regularly attending children. Too little or irregular attendance as well as non-attendance were the underlying considerations of the discussions about compulsory education, which were carried on all through the nineteenth century and ultimately led to the Compulsory Education Act. In their specific reports the school inspectors from the very beginning indicated that the problem of irregular attendance is hard to solve without compulsory education. Nobody knows the ins and outs of the problem. In one place children attend 'rather regularly', elsewhere only few children go to school during the summer months. That school attendance in winter exceeded that in summer was a well-known fact, but national figures were not available. Even less was known of how many children really finished a couple of years at school, and how many of them only went to school for an occasionally very brief time.

IV *Figures about attendance in summer and in winter, 1850-78*

In 1850 minister Thorbecke, who was in charge of education, wished to put an end to the situation as depicted above. Henceforth he wanted data with reference to real school attendance twice a year, January 15 and July 15. The real extent of non-attendance now became clear with the July returns: in spite of the fact that it was in summer that many often very small children were sent to school - not for education, but because parents wished to free themselves of the burdens of bringing them up -, the number of school-going children was considerably smaller than in winter. The school population in summer was different from that in colder seasons, and this created special teaching problems. On account of the presence of numerous toddlers in summer the data from the years following 1850 provide no clues as to the number of children taught all through the year. For subtracting the summer pupils from the winter pupils gives no precise information about the additional non-attendance in summer. Moreover it cannot always be ascertained for how many consecutive years a child went to school.

In the course of the sixties there was another change. The government report about the school-year of 1862-3 no longer specified the number of pupils attending on Jan. 15 and July 15, but the number of those 'belonging to the school' at certain times of the year (Jan. 15, April 15, July 15 and Oct. 15) -, which was not a very clear definition, as we will see. This change found its origin in the fact that 'the real number of attending pupils, due to whatever cause, may have been very small at one of these dates (viz. Jan. 15 or resp. July 15), for which reason any conclusion would become incorrect' 8). Thanks to Thorbecke we had at least acquired an insight into real attendance, though at only two times of the year; after 1862 the figures refer to those registered. Those really present were no longer counted, for - as the then minister expressly stated - he did not want statistics about non-attendance but reports about all pupils who, albeit intermittently, attended lessons 9).

In several provinces the interpretation of 'belonging to the school' caused great problems. Not all schoolmasters meant the same by this, and so the municipalities provided figures of a different kind, the consequence being that the value of the returns was rather restricted. One master will have let a pupil he saw for one day only belong to the school, another would not have thought of it, and will only have noted down the names of those who did in fact regularly turn up. Nobody exactly knew the criteria of the headmasters in the post-1862 years. And therefore, the provinces concluded as early as 1862, it was no use dwelling upon the statistics. The figures are given with no further comment. This also happens in the following years, after time and again, and in a number of different wordings, the various drawbacks have been stated inherent to these 'counts which undoubtedly have been carried out in widely different ways' - and which in any case permitted no conclusions as to non-attendance.

School attendance 1865-1875 in percentages 10)

	date	boys	girls	total
1865	15-1	78.7	72.5	75.7
	15-7	73.8	75.5	74.7
1870	15-1	83.7	77.4	80.6
	15-7	79.9	75.1	77.5
1875	15-1	82.0	79.8	81.0
	15-7	81.9	76.9	79.4

From the figures given one may at least draw conclusions about the registration of pupils in the various seasons. Not only can one learn how many children were not registered during the busiest season (absolute non-attendance), but also to how many this applied during the others seasons. In addition to the children that were not registered at all there were also those who were not registered as school-going during the entire year. The data about this relative non-attendance are at least equally important for acquiring an insight into the degree of school attendance as the figures about absolute non-attendance 11). For, certainly in the second half of the nineteenth century, people were less and less anxious to get *more* children to school. Making them profit from education more *regularly* was certainly thought just as important.

V *Figures from the period of 1878-1900.*

The post-1878 statistics do not pay attention to the problem of relative non-attendance. Article 80 of the School Act of 1878 laid down that the headmasters should draw up annual lists of school-going children between the ages of six to twelve on Jan. 1. The next article obliged the municipalities to draw up lists of children between six and twelve who lived there on Jan. 1. The difference between these two lists then provided an insight into absolute non-attendance, at least for children between six and twelve. On a national level no data were required any more about the so very important matter of relative non-attendance.

So article 80 required the schoolmasters to supply information about the number of school-going children between six and twelve, as on Jan. 1. Hence no longer, as in the period of 1862-78, a survey of registered children, and no longer any figures referring to the various periods of the year. This was a change for the better and for the worse: now it would certainly become clear how many children attended school at what time, but not what the situation was like throughout the year. Since article 81 required the municipalities to draw up surveys of all their children between six and twelve, it could be decided how many did not attend at all during a certain year. Moreover, the reasons for their staying away were published from 1892 and after, of which the most important were: leaving school before turning twelve, living too far away or bad roads, diseases and physical defects, not having been inoculated, indifference on the part of the parents, and having to work. For such kinds of reasons at that time 10.5% of the boys and 12.8% of the girls did not attend school on Dec. 31, 1892, at least of those between six and twelve. From some provinces we have figures concerning the eleven-year olds in the various municipalities who had never yet received education. There are comparatively few of them: in one of the provinces, Drenthe, they numbered only 64 in 1893 and in 1899 only 76.

At last we know something about the genuine illiterates in the Netherlands. Their number was very small by 1900.

School attendance 1878 - 1900, percentages.

	boys	girls	total
1880	87.7	81.5	84.6
1885	88.6	84.6	86.6
1890	90.2	87.6	88.9
1895	91.4	89.3	90.4
1900	92.2	90.4	91.3

VI *National versus local figures.*

National figures about school attendance provide rough indications. If one wishes to descend into details concerning the problem of Dutch school attendance, one is faced with great difficulties and one has to go down to a local level. It seems that greatly varying local conditions especially determine non-attendance. Each town, and each rural municipality, had its own, idiosyncratic, conditions. Here are some illustrative examples, from the province of Gelderland. In 1848 of all children between six and twelve 7.7% per cent did not attend in Arnhem, but in Nijmegen this percentage was 24.5. In the rural municipalities of Angerlo and Wehl all children went to school, but in the nearby municipalities of Didam and Herwen and Aerdt non-attendance was respectively 42% and 48%. One can also discern great differences between the various regions within one province: in the district of Zutphen 10.6% did not attend, but in the more southern areas (the districts of Nijmegen and the 'Benedendistricten') this percentage was respectively 34.5% and 39.4%.

The differences between the provinces themselves are great as well: in 1835 Drenthe, Overijssel and Friesland, the provinces with the so-called school-fees regulations, headed the list of greatest attendance. All down at the bottom we find North Holland and South Holland, no doubt due to these provinces being heavily urbanised. This urbanisation no doubt greatly lowered the attendance percentages, and caused the rural provinces always to have better percentages. In 1869 about 80,000 children received no education in Amsterdam. In Groningen this figure should proportionately have been 2,000, but it was only about 200.

What do the national figures reveal after all this? Very little, apart from one thing: every year the number of children attending at a certain time increased. By 1860 the attendance percentage had risen to ca. 75%. This was the percentage calculated for the busiest season. In summer, when the rural areas massively did not attend, it decreased by over 10% (1855 respectively 71.8% and 59.8%), but the real difference was even much greater: it could frequently amount to a little over 30%. This the figures do not reveal, especially because in summer many toddlers were 'put away' in the schools. The family worked on the fields, and those of its members that could not were entrusted to the schoolmaster.

VII *The introduction of compulsory education in 1900.*

In the second half of the nineteenth century the discussion about the introduction of compulsory education was seriously confused by the 'school struggle'. The confrontation between advocates and opponents became uncommonly bitter, and involved the one group - for the time being a minority - who thought that universal elementary education was to the advantage of society, which therefore had to further this - an advantage which therefore superseded parental rights, and the other group who considered compulsory education an unacceptable violation of parental authority.

About 1900 the discussions about compulsory education reached their final stage, though they did not produce anything new: well-known points of view were reiterated by both parties. Opponents harped on the familiar issues:

- violation of parental authority by the introduction of state education;
- a preference for other methods to fight non-attendance;
- conscientious objections to compulsory attendance of public elementary schools, in a situation where there were not yet enough non-provided (Christian) schools;
- doubting the favourable effects of compulsory education in other countries;
- doubting the correctness of the non-attendance figures in this country. Non-attendance was assumed to be less than people - including the government - asserted;
- the fear of losing income in many families.

The Bill introducing compulsory education was finally passed on March 30, 1900, with the tiniest of majorities: 50 ayes, forty noes.

The Compulsory Education Act obliged parents (and guardians) to let their children of the ages of seven to thirteen attend elementary education. For six years everyone had to go to school. Attendance should be regular and pupils ought not to stay away from two school-periods (= five hours) during two subsequent months without lawful reasons. These were incorporated in the Act, with due consideration of practice. Valid reasons for non-attendance were illness, religious duties, temporary absence, but it was also allowed - outside the holidays - to go on leave for at most six weeks 'for the sake of duties in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, forestry, dairy-work or peatery', known as 'agriculture leave'.

The observation of unpermitted non-attendance led to an endless procedure, and ultimately to the courtroom, where the judge could impose a (for that matter light) penalty. In every municipality committees for preventing non-attendance were to look at problem cases, and (in cooperation with the municipality) were to try and take as many measures as possible in order to do away with causes of non-attendance.

The figures that are first available in 1902 show that strongly agriculturally oriented provinces had the greatest temporary non-attendance problems. Drenthe and Zealand headed the list with over 10% of non-attended periods. The national average was then at 6.5% and was to increase each of next few years by some points. Between 80% and 90% of this non-attendance was permitted, but in Drenthe and Zealand this applied to only a little over 60%. With a national percentage of unpermitted non-attendance of 1.5% Drenthe scored as much as 4.3%. This province was unambiguously to head the list for a long time to be in the surveys of relative non-attendance. September and October scored highest; then, moreover, many more children felt ill and weak, children who for whatever reasons had been given no or too little 'agriculture leave'.

Absolute non-attendance in the Netherlands in percentages 12)

	boys	girls	total
1901	4.3	6.3	5.3
1905	4.8	6.3	5.6
1910	4.4	5.4	4.9
1915	4.2	5.1	4.6
1920	4.0	5.1	4.5

Relative non-attendance in the the Netherlands
(percentages in numbers of periods)

	permitted	unpermitted	total
1901	1.5	5.1	6.5
1905	1.1	5.2	6.3
1910	0.8	5.2	6.1
1915	0.7	5.0	5.7
1919	0.9	5.7	6.6

In this country compulsory education took longer to become a fact than elsewhere. England, Germany, France and Switzerland were ahead of us in this respect. But the 1900 Act was effective. In combination with many other measures this Act brought about the all but total disappearance of absolute non-attendance in the period up to 1920, while relative non-attendance was greatly reduced.

During periods of recession it became clear, however, to what extent school attendance remained dependent on the level of prosperity. In our affluent days non-attendance at elementary school level can hardly be observed any more.

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NOTES

1. A. M. van der Woude, 'De alfabetisering', in *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, deel 7 (Nieuwste Tijd)* (Haarlem, 1980), p. 257-264.
2. Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's Gravenhage, Staatsbewind, 523.
3. Cf.E.H. Kossmann, *De lage landen 1780-1940* (Amsterdam/Brussel, 1976), p. 85, 90, 127.
4. Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's Gravenhage, Binnenlandse Zaken vóór 1813, nr 999.
5. C. Hentzen, *De politieke geschiedenis van het lager onderwijs in Nederland. I. De vestiging van het staatsmonopolie* (Nijmegen/'s Hertogenbosch/Antwerpen, 1920), p. 262-3.
6. N.L. Dodde, *Het Nederlandse onderwijs verandert* (Muiderberg, 1983), p. 30.
7. Cf. P. Th. F. M. Boekholt, *Het lager onderwijs in Gelderland, 1795-1858* (Zutphen, 1978), p. 169.
8. *Onderwijsverslag*, 1862-1863.
9. *Provinciaal verslag Drenthe* about 1862.
10. Dodde, *o.c.*, p. 48, also for the following table.

11. Statistics of relative non-attendance in 1902 and of absolute non-attendance on Jan. 15, 1903, in *Bijdragen tot de statistiek van Nederland* (Den Haag, 1904), p. IX-XIX.

12. *Statistiek van het betrekkelijk schoolverzuim en het volstrekt leerverzuim* ('s Gravenhage, 1905-1906).

SUMMARY

Compulsory education was introduced in the Netherlands in 1900. This paper gives a survey of school attendance in the nineteenth century, and of the way in which data about it were collected. It appears that statistical material was not always assembled in a uniform way; nor was it always complete. Therefore the national figures provide no reliable impression of school attendance in the Netherlands; they at most make us aware of the direction it was taking. For a real insight into school attendance one should consult regional and local sources. These show that locally and regionally the developments do not run parallel with the national figures. Local socio-economic circumstances determined the level of school attendance.

L'OFFRE D'ECOLE AVANT L'OBLIGATION SCOLAIRE: L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES PREMIERES ENQUETES BATAVES (1799-1811)

Willem Frijhoff

Les mythes ont la vie dure. L'introduction de la scolarité obligatoire fut longtemps brandie par les bourgeoisies triomphantes de l'époque contemporaine comme une victoire des lumières civilisatrices sur les ténèbres populaires. Depuis les recherches des deux dernières décennies sur l'alphabétisation et la scolarisation seulement, nous avons repris conscience de l'origine propagandiste, sinon politique, de cet énoncé. Plutôt que le début d'une longue évolution, l'introduction légale de la scolarité obligatoire n'en fut bien souvent que la consécration institutionnelle. Dans les pays de l'Europe occidentale, au moins, les mesures législatives firent de la scolarité obligatoire un instrument de politique sociale, sans pour autant en inventer le principe. Dans bien des pays, en effet, une scolarité quasi-générale *de fait* précéda la scolarité obligatoire *de droit*. Aussi, les mesures législatives touchaient-elles essentiellement cette frange non encore scolarisée de la population qui, bien vite, devait s'avérer tout aussi difficile à embrigader par les nouvelles obligations légales que par les anciennes pressions collectives.[1]

En recueillant les enseignements globaux des premières enquêtes officielles sur l'état des écoles existant sur le territoire de la République Batave (1799)[2] et des départements annexés de l'ex-Royaume de Hollande (1811)[3], c'est-à-dire en gros les Pays-Bas actuels au Nord du Waal, cette contribution se propose de montrer brièvement l'impact du système scolaire sur les classes d'âge concernées avant l'introduction de l'obligation scolaire. Et cela bien avant ces mesures législatives, puisque ce ne fut qu'en 1901 que l'obligation scolaire fut imposée aux enfants du royaume des Pays-Bas.

A la suite des appréciations formulées par les voyageurs et les observateurs contemporains, les historiens s'accordent depuis longtemps à considérer le territoire des actuels Pays-Bas comme une région précocement scolarisée, et ce à un taux dépassant de loin la moyenne européenne. En corollaire, on postule dans l'ancienne République des Provinces-Unies un degré d'alphabétisation élevé. De nombreuses raisons ont été avancées pour expliquer cet état de fait: le degré de développement socio-économique et plus particulièrement d'urbanisation des territoires concernés, un système intelligent de dévolution des biens ecclésiastiques confisqués à la Réforme, l'impact de la Dévotion Moderne, de la culture bourgeoise dominante ou de cette religion de la parole et de la lecture qu'est le calvinisme, voire une interprétation quelque peu fantasque de la célèbre thèse wéberienne...

Ces toutes dernières années, la corrélation traditionnelle entre protestantisme et alphabétisation a été remise en question au profit d'un modèle plus nuancé.[4] En effet, le modèle suédois d'une alphabétisation à deux degrés et à deux vitesses (lire seulement pour la grande masse, lire et écrire pour des couches sociales déterminées, mais en nombre de plus en plus grand à partir du XVIIIe siècle) a tendance à s'imposer comme la matrice générale des évolutions nationales et régionales en Europe. A la vérité, la vérification de cette hypothèse pour les Provinces-Unies s'avérera malaisée. Même le critère traditionnel qui, quoique avec de multiples précautions,permette d'aborder la question de l'alphabétisation à grande échelle, c'est-à-dire la signature des actes d'état civil par les futurs époux, ne s'applique guère aux provinces fédérées, où d'ordinaire les registres n'étaient pas signés par les intéressés. Amsterdam constitue à cet égard la grande exception et on a cru pouvoir y calculer des taux d'alphabétisation pour les régions de départ des nouveaux arrivants dans la ville[5] - mais il paraît certain que ces taux sont biaisés par une migration sélective, les moins instruits ayant tendance à rester sur place.

L'autre critère, celui de la présence d'une école, s'avère lui aussi fragile pour l'étude des pratiques culturelles. Grâce à l'action énergique et concertée des autorités provinciales, des synodes réformés et des communautés locales, la République se trouva rapidement parsemée d'un dense réseau d'écoles. Dès le XVIIe siècle, quasi tous les villages en furent pourvus. Cependant, les données fiables sur leur fréquentation sont rares.[6]

L'absence d'une administration centrale, enfin, a retardé l'entrée des Provinces-Unies dans l'ère statistique. Ce n'est qu'après l'unification du territoire, sous la République batave, que les premières statistiques d'ensemble sont élaborées. Rappelons toutefois que dès cette époque les influences se font sentir des tentatives de réforme de l'enseignement élémentaire engagées depuis le dernier quart du XVIIIe siècle, particulièrement sous l'impulsion des principales sociétés savantes et de la Société du Bien Public (*Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, fondée en 1784).[7] La nomination de Theodorus van Kooten comme premier Agent de l'Education nationale, le 22 janvier 1798, entraîne un premier effort de recensement scolaire à l'échelle nationale. Entre 1798 et 1800, les données affluent de toutes parts sur le bureau de l'Agent, remplacé dès avril 1799 par le professeur énergique J. H.van der Palm, qui s'efforce de dresser un état d'ensemble de l'enseignement néerlandais à ses différents niveaux. Quoique la qualité des renseignements fournis ne paraisse pas mauvaise, des erreurs d'interprétation, des lacunes et de trop nombreuses approximations, à coup sûr inévitables dans ce premier effort statistique, rendent cette enquête difficile à utiliser pour une approche globale de la statistique scolaire.

Il en va tout autrement de l'enquête effectuée sous la responsabilité de l'inspecteur général de l'enseignement public Adriaen van den Ende, après l'annexion du Royaume de Hollande à l'Empire français. Réalisée en 1811 à la demande de l'intendant de l'Intérieur en Hollande, le baron d'Alphonse, qui l'utilisa pour son *Aperçu sur la Hollande*[8] adressé au ministre de l'Intérieur à Paris le 28 avril 1813, l'enquête concerne tous les niveaux d'enseignement, dont elle dresse des états nominatifs et numériques détaillés, précédés d'un rapport général.[9]

L'inspecteur général explique dans ce rapport les particularités du système scolaire néerlandais, réorganisé par les lois scolaires de 1801, 1803 et 1806, qui n'avaient cependant guère modifié la structure d'ensemble. Outre les *universités* et *écoles illustres* ou athénées (ces dernières sans droit de collation des grades) et les *écoles latines* ou collèges, qui n'avaient pratiquement plus d'autre fonction que de préparer à l'université, ce système englobait une filière alternative sous la forme des *écoles dites 'françaises'* (parce que, au contraire des écoles latines, le français y était la langue de socialisation), où les langues modernes, les mathématiques élémentaires, la géographie et l'histoire, parfois les sciences naturelles, le pilotage ou la tenue des livres, et pour les filles les ouvrages de main ou les autres arts d'agrément étaient enseignés. La filière française se prolongeait vers le haut dans quelques '*institutions*' d'élite de fondation récente, qui, ajoutant le latin au système français, ouvraient l'accès à l'université, vers le bas dans les '*véritables écoles primaires*', enseignant la lecture (en néerlandais), l'écriture et le calcul. La section française y était une espèce de superstructure confiée au maître sachant le français. Les véritables écoles françaises, de fondation publique (dotées par la régence des villes) ou privée, pouvaient comporter une *pension*. L'ensemble des écoles inférieures (néerlandaises, françaises ou mixtes) était divisé en trois groupes: les écoles publiques, à la charge du gouvernement ou des communautés locales, et les écoles particulières, soit de la première classe (à la charge de corporations telles que la Société du Bien Public ou les Eglises), soit de la seconde (entretenues exclusivement par les rétributions des élèves). En marge du système on trouva ici et là quelques *écoles hébraïques* pour la population juive. A la base, enfin, on distinguait un grand nombre de salles *pré-élémentaires* 'pour les très petits enfants', une espèce de salles d'asile ou de garderies tenues par des femmes 'dans les villes et quelques villages considérables', dans lesquelles garçons et filles jusqu'à six ans d'âge, 'spécialement des classes inférieures', recevaient, outre une surveillance sommaire, leurs 'premières notions de lecture'.

Les tableaux qui suivent résument les résultats de cette enquête tout en les référant au dénombrement de la population de 1809. L'on voit tout de suite l'exiguïté de la tranche sociale touchée par l'enseignement latin moyen et supérieur: à peine 1% au total. Même la filière dite française ne sert qu'à ces couches sociales qui ont inscrit leurs centres d'intérêt dans son curriculum: la frange supérieure de la bourgeoisie marchande et artisanale. En y comprenant les différentes formes d'éducation domestique (précepteur privé, études sous un pasteur ou curé local, etc.), dont la relative rareté en Hollande est soulignée par tous observateurs étrangers[10], l'on peut conclure qu'un garçon sur vingt seulement (soit 5% du total) fut alors touché par une quelconque forme d'enseignement général continué. La fréquentation des écoles professionnelles (arts mécaniques, dessin, etc.) nous échappe dans les détails, mais les nombres ne paraissent pas avoir été importants.

L'on voit, en revanche, l'étendue des groupes touchés par l'enseignement élémentaire: 60% des jeunes dans l'âge de 6 à 11 ans semble avoir été scolarisé, peut-être même plus si l'on accepte une alternance de groupes au cours de l'année à la campagne, ou une durée plus réduite des cursus individuels. Le taux d'encadrement demeurait cependant relativement bas: chaque maître d'école avait à s'occuper de 60 élèves en moyenne (tableau 1). D'autre part, si l'on en juge d'après les taux d'alphabétisation des deux sexes (tableau 3), la fréquentation a dû être plus forte parmi les garçons que parmi les filles.

Mais ces résultats globaux ne sauraient cacher de nettes différences régionales. En fait, une double zonalité de dessine. Une ligne Nord-Sud sépare les provinces de l'Ouest (Hollande, Utrecht) de celles de l'Est et du Nord: à l'Ouest, l'école française des élites marchandes attirées par les sciences nouvelles domine, ailleurs c'est l'université conduisant aux professions libérales et aux hautes charges administratives qui donne te ton.[11] D'autres lignes de partage, horizontales cette fois, découpent le territoire en trois zones selon les taux régionaux d'alphabétisation, qui correspondent, en fait, étroitement aux taux de densité en maîtres.

En effet, si dès le XVIII^{e} siècle chaque village avait son école, l'on ne saurait en déduire mécaniquement un encadrement égal partout (tableau 2 et 3). Rapporté à la population, le nombre de maîtres était nettement plus grand dans la zone septentrionale (Groningue, Drenthe, Frise, Hollande au Nord de l'Y) que dans la zone centrale (Hollande méridionale, Utrecht, Gueldre, Overyssel). Cette densité différentielle du personnel scolaire se reflète parfaitement dans les taux d'alphabétisation que les premiers actes civils dûment signés permettent de calculer: dans la zone septentrionale, le taux global est partout supérieur à 75%. Moins du quart de la population, hommes et femmes confondus, s'avère incapable d'apposer sa signature en bas de l'acte de mariage. La Drenthe, territoire purement rural, remporte la palme avec un taux d'alphabétisation de plus de 80%, correspondant à la plus forte densité en maîtres d'école. Ce double résultat constitue, même sans tenir compte de la réforme des méthodes d'enseignement, la preuve éclatante de la réussite de l'offensive scolaire des Lumières, assurant une généralisation quasi totale de la scolarisation près d'un siècle avant l'introduction de l'obligation scolaire.

Dans la zone centrale, en revanche, le taux d'alphabétisation oscille partout entre 60 et 70%, l'encadrement y étant en même temps nettement moins fort. Dans la zone méridionale, enfin, composée surtout des anciens pays de la Généralité, l'alphabétisation ne touche guère plus que la moitié de la population - malheureusement, elle n'est pas comprise dans l'enquête de 1811. Si l'on excepte cette zone méridionale pour ne retenir que les territoires touchés par cette enquête, le taux d'alphabétisation global s'établit à environ 70%, soit 10% de plus que le taux global de scolarisation. Comment expliquer cette discordance? Il est possible que la scolarisation ait été plus forte en raison des facteurs indiqués ci-dessus. Mais une autre raison est possible, à savoir une correspondance imparfaite entre le système des salles pré-élémentaires et les écoles primaires proprement dites.

Recueillant surtout les rejetons de la population travailleuse et pauvre des agglomérations, les salles pré-élémentaires - dont la densité avoisinait localement celle des écoles primaires (tableau 4) - assuraient d'ordinaire à ces enfants l'équipement minimum pour aborder une pratique culturelle active: des principes de lecture, et peut-être la capacité de signer sommairement, sans que cela implique pour autant la pratique de l'écriture, la signature étant devenue à l'époque moderne l'attribut majeur et le symbole principal de l'individualité. Il n'est pas nécessaire de postuler que ces enfants aient ensuite systématiquement rejoint l'école primaire. Bien au contraire, l'insertion nécessaire de ces jeunes, issus des classes urbaines pauvres, dans le processus de production, dès leur jeune âge, peut avoir empêché leur véritable scolarisation. Dans cette hypothèse, salles pré-élémentaires et écoles primaires ont été en partie complémentaires, de sorte que le taux réel des jeunes enfants touchés par une quelconque forme d'apprentissage de pratiques culturelles, si minime soit-elle, fut encore plus fort que les taux calculés ne le laissent supposer.

NOTES

1) Cf. les contributions à W.Frijhoff (dir.), *L'Offre d'école. Eléments pour une étude comparée des politiques éducatives au XIXe siècle* (Paris 1983).
2) "Staten van Nederduitsche Scholen", in: Archives générales du royaume, Fonds du Staatsbewind, inv. no. 523 (état daté 1801).
3) Archives générales du royaume, Affaires intérieures avant 1813, liasse no. 999 (rapport daté du 7 sept. 1811). Cf. W.Frijhoff, "Van onderwijs naar opvoedend onderwijs. Ontwikkelingslijnen van opvoeding en onderwijs in Noord-Nederland in de 18e eeuw", in: *Onderwijs en opvoeding in de achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam/Maarssen 1983) p. 22-27.
4) Cf. W.Frijhoff, "L'Etat et l'éducation (XVIe-XVIIe siècle): une perspective globale", in: *Culture et ideólogie dans la genèse de l'Etat moderne* (Ecole française de Rome 1985) p. 99-116.
5) S.Hart, *Geschrift en getal* (Dordrecht 1976) p. 130-132 et 178-179.
6) Cf. E.P.de Booy, *De weldaet der scholen* (Utrecht 1977), pour Utrecht.
7) Cf. S.Schama, "School and politics in the Netherlands 1796-1814", *The historical journal* 12 (1970) p. 589-610; et ci-dessus, note 3.
8) Archives générales du royaume, Affaires intérieures avant 1813, inv. no. 1229, pp. 358-398; publ. en partie dans: *Eenige hoofdstukken uit het 'Aperçu sur la Hollande'...* (La Haye 1900) p. 126-143.
9) Les renseignements concernant l'Ems Oriental (actuellement situé en Allemagne) n'ont pas été repris ici.
10) Cf. W.Frijhoff, "Van onderwijs...", p. 14.
11) Cf. ma contribution "Université et marché de l'emploi dans la République des Provinces-Unies", à paraître dans *Les Universités européennes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, t. I (Paris 1986) p. 220-224.

Tableau 1

ENSEIGNEMENT GENERAL DANS LES DEPARTEMENTS NEERLANDAIS DE L'EX-ROYAUME DE HOLLANDE, SELON L'ENQUETE DE 1811*

Type d'institution	Nombre d'écoles	d'enseignants	d'élèves	Nombre d'élèves par enseignant	Sexe	Pourcentage de la classe d'âge		
						classe d'âge	%	
Universités et écoles illustres	8	87	1110	12.8	M	18-23	1.2	
Ecoles latines	50	111	1091	9.8	M	12-17	1.0	latin 1.2
Instituts latins-français	6	13	166	12.8	M	12-17	0.2	français 3.1
Pensions françaises de garçons	75	158	2677	16.9	M	12-17	2.4	
Pensions françaises de filles	66	124	1529	12.3	F	12-15	1.9	
Ecoles primaires - néerlando-françaises	361	438	10055	23.0	M+F	6-13	2.8	primaire 60.0
- néerlandaises	1989	2585	155000	60.0	M+F	6-11	57.0	
- hébraïques (juives)	114							
Salles pré-élémentaires	1513	?	?	?	M+F	4-6	?	

* Départements de la Zuyderzée, Bouches de la Meuse, Yssel Supérieur, Bouches de l'Yssel, Frise, Ems Occidental.

Source: Archives générales du royaume à La Haye, Affaires intérieures avant 1813, liasse no. 999 (rapports de l'inspecteur général Van den Ende); cf. G.Cuvier & F.Noël, Rapport sur les établissements d'instruction publique en Hollande (Paris 1811).

Tableau 2

NOMBRES D'ECOLES ET DE MAITRES DANS LES DEPARTEMENTS NEERLANDAIS DE L'EX-ROYAUME DE HOLLANDE, RAPPORTES A LA POPULATION, D'APRES L'ENQUETE DE 1811

Département (province actuelle)	"Véritables écoles primaires des deux sexes"			"Ecoles néerlandaises et françaises"		Total des écoles	Nombre d'habitants par école	Nombre de maîtres			Nombre d'habitants par maître (secondants compris)
	publ.	partic.	hébr.	publ.	partic.			maîtres en titre	secondants	total	
Zuyderzée	308	158	69	18	183[a]	736	690	809	217	1026	495
-arrts Amsterdam, Haarlem, Hoorn, Alkmaar (Hollande septentrionale)								673	170	843	466
-arrts Utrecht, Amersfoort (Utrecht)								136	47	183	628
Bouches de la Meuse (Hollande mérid.)	204	109	26	21	96	456	890	499	159	658	617
Yssel Supérieur (Gueldre)	171	74	4	10	5	264	764	265	33	298	676
Bouches de l'Yssel (Overyssel)	195	23	1	3	3	225	636	228	19	247	579
Frise (Frise)	325	38	7	6	3	379	463	385	34	419	419
Ems Occidental	260	124	7	2	11	404	474	407	67	474	404
-arrts Groningue, Winschoten, Appingedam (Groningue)								283	55	338	434
-art Assen (Drenthe)								124	12	136	328
Total	1463	526	114	60	301	2464	660	2729	576	3305	492

a) Dont 10 écoles hébraîques

Source: voir tableau 1.

Tableau 3

OFFRE D'ECOLE ET CAPACITE DE SIGNER DANS LES PAYS-BAS SEPTENTRIONAUX VERS 1815 (NIVEAU ELEMENTAIRE)

Province	Nombre de maîtres par 10.000 habitants (secondants inclus) en 1811	Pourcentage des époux ne sachant *pas* signer leur acte de mariage, 1813-1819	
		hommes	femmes
Drenthe	30.5	14.1	24.6
Groningue	23.0	13.5	27.3
Frise	23.9	15.8	30.3
Hollande septentrionale (sauf Amsterdam)	22.9	17.8	33.0
Ville d'Amsterdam	20.1	?[a]	?[a]
Zélande	?	21.1	41.4
Hollande méridionale	16.2	27.1	42.9
Overyssel	17.3	27.1	39.3
Gueldre	14.8[b]	27.8	45.9
Utrecht	15.9	28.8	41.2
Brabant septentrional	?	34.3	51.3
Limbourg	?	34.0	57.6
Moyenne	20.3[c]	24.6	40.4

a) En 1780, 15% des époux masculins, 36% des époux féminins ne savaient pas signer leur acte de mariage à Amsterdam.
b) Partie située au Nord du Waal seulement.
c) Sauf Zélande, Brabant, Limbourg, Gueldre au Sud du Waal.

Sources: Archives générales du royaume à La Haye, Affaires intérieures avant 1813, liasse no. 999 (nombre de maîtres); pour la capacité de signer: A.M.van der Woude, "Onderwijs en opvoeding: De alfabetisering", in: *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* VII (1980) p.260, tabl. 2B; du même, "La ville néerlandaise", in: J.-P.Poussou et alii, *Etudes sur les villes en Europe Occidentale* II (Paris 1983) p. 376.

Tableau 4

NOMBRE DE SALLES PRE-ELEMENTAIRES DANS QUELQUES VILLES ET BOURGS DE LA REPUBLIQUE BATAVE, SELON L'ENQUETE DE 1799*

Ville ou bourg	Nombre de salles N	Population en 1809 N	Nombre de salles par 10.000 habitants	Nombre d'habitants par salle pré-élémentaire
Utrecht	40 à 50	35.809	11.2 à 14.0	716 à 895
Leyde	plus de 36	29.848	>12.1	<829
Haarlem	24	20.165	11.9	840
Delft	24	14.034	17.1	584
Arnhem	14	9.437	14.8	674
Hoorn	18	8.193	22.0	455
Alkmaar	6	7.809	7.7	1302
Enkhuizen	6	5.733	10.5	955
Maassluis	14	4.275	32.8	305
Goes	6	3.996	15.0	666
Harderwyk	2 à 3	3.755	8.0	1251
Edam	6	3.577	16.8	596
Weesp	9	3.253	27.7	361
Ysselstein	7	2.644	26.5	521
Purmerend	7	2.562	27.3	366
Monnickendam	3	2.094	14.3	698
Steenwyk	3	1.979	15.2	660
Pynacker	4	1.199	33.4	300
Moyenne	min. 229	160.362	14.3	700

* Source: Archives générales du royaume à La Haye, Fonds du Staatsbewind, inv. no. 523.

SUMMARY

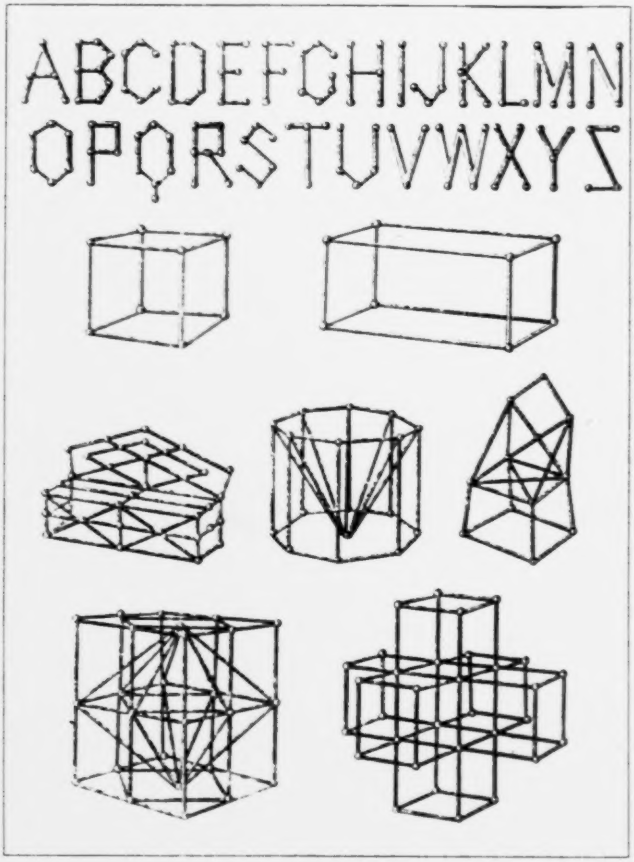
This brief contribution presents an overall view of the supply of schooling in the northern provinces of the Netherlands, basically by means of an evaluation of the results, unpublished up to now, of the first educational inquiries organised on a national scale in 1798/99 and 1811. In relating these results to provincial population figures and the first available information about the spread of literacy, it is argued:

- that compulsory education (introduced in the Netherlands as late as 1901) was preceded by a de facto generalisation of the school system;
- that,more than the spread of schools, the relative frequency of schoolmasters was decisive for the penetration of literacy;
- that the signature (used as a measure for literacy) does not necessarily imply primary school attendance but can be explained by others types of cultural practice;
- that forms of pre-school education do not necessarily preceed primary school attendance, but can be complementary to it.

WORKING GROUP

6

REFORMS AND NEW TENDENCIES IN COMPULSORY EDUCATION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A DANISH REFORM CONCERNING THE FIRST YEARS OF SCHOOL

Hans Vejleskov

A DANISH REFORM CONCERNING THE FIRST YEARS OF SCHOOL:

Since our first Education Act of 1814 introduced a general obligation on the part of parents to have their child taught, all legislation about compulsory schooling in Denmark has stated that this obligation begins when the child reaches the age of seven. Thus children normally enter grade 1 in August as they are 6;8 - 7;8 years old. Today, however, 95% of Danish children enter the school - public or private - when they are 5;8 - 6;8 years old, as they are admitted to a so-called nursery class (in Danish "kindergarten class"). Before 1966, only few such classes existed, either with an experimental status or within the school system of a certain town in Jutland. In this article the rapid growth of nursery classes is discussed with special reference to its innovative force leading to a reform concerning the first years in school.

1. The nursery class 1966-1986.

In 1966 a new Education Act permitted municipal school authorities to establish nursery classes at the schools. It was stated that pre-school teachers (in Danish: "kindergarten pedagogues"), and not ordinary school teachers, were to teach the children, and it was also stated that "in nursery classes the children are occupied with play and other improving activities". In a note this was further explained to mean that "true instruction like that performed in grades 1 and 2 must not take place in the nursery class".

As already suggested above, the new act did authorize an arrangement which had existed for many years in one municipality, and, for some years, experimentally, at certain schools throughout the country. Stated briefly, the reasons for introducing this one-year pre-school as an appendix to the ordinary school system were partly the growing need for day-care institutions during the 1960s, and partly the general interest of that time in "compensatory education" and more efficient schooling for a larger part of the population.

In many respects, the introduction of the nursery class as a normal, though not compulsory, part of the school system was a success:

> During the first ten years the number of classes increased from 212 to 2534, and during the next eight years gradually 95% of all children came to spend one year in a nursery class before they entered grade 1.
>
> In 1976 the Ministery of Education published guides to the teaching in all subjedts, and, at the same time, a guide to the work in nur-

> sery classes was published.
>
> In 1980 a new act made it obligatory for local authorities to establish nursery classes (but not compulsory for the children to join them). In 1977, 1979 and 1983 committees at ministerial level published reports with proposals to further the development of the nursery class as an integrated part of the school.
>
> During the last ten years a considerable amount of innovative education and experimental work within the school system has dealt with co-operation between the nursery class and grades 1 and 2.

However, this development has also given rise to scruples and criticism:

> It has been pointed out that the rapidly increasing number of children entering nursery classes is due to the fact that parents have to pay for their child in a kindergarten (nursery school/day care centre), whereas the nursery class is free.
>
> It has been maintained that three lessons per day in a school cannot offer the same opportunities for improving activities for young children as 5-7 hours in a kindergarten with better facilities and fewer children per adult person.
>
> It has been especially stressed that it is a bad thing for those 5-6-year old children, who must go from the nursery class at the school to a recreation centre (or a kindergarten), because their parents work outside the home for eight hours a day.
>
> Warnings have been advanced that the nursery class does result in a state in which even younger children have to suffer from the academic, non-creative training of the school.
>
> On the other hand, it has also been criticized that the nursery class has remained a rather isolated appendix to the school.

Thus it is possible to draw the rather inconsistent conclusion that, in spite of some obviously criticizable consequences, the nursery class became a success, not only in a quantitative sense, but also with respect to serious attempts to make it a fruitful part of better elementary teaching in the school.

2. The 1984 reform.

In 1983, the Minister of Education appointed a committee "charged with the task of considering the consequences of a gradual lowering of the age at which children enter school .... as well as such educational adjustments of the activities in the school that might be implied by any lowering". It was obvious that the Minister was not only impressed by the increasing unemployment among teachers and the problems of about 125 small schools in certain rural districts, which would provisionally benefit from an increase of the number of children within the school system. He was also impressed by the following facts:

- The quantitative success of the nursery class.
- The interest shown by teachers and other professional people performing experimental work about elementary instruction etc.
- The late compulsory school attendance in Denmark compared

with the one in other countries in Europe.
- The increasing number of behavioural problems among children in the first grades of the school.

This fact may explain that the committee was allowed to understand its mandate in such a way that adjustments of the activities in the school became the main issue. In fact, a change of the lower age limit for compulsory schooling (admittance to grade 1) was not discussed, and only certain minor regulations of the age limits for earlier admittance of bright children to nursery class and grade 1 were proposed.

In accordance with this interpretation of the mandate, the report published in July 1984 contains many general considerations on the future development of nursery classes and grades 1 and 2 with the following main points:

A: Horizontal co-ordination between the activities in the school and those in recreation centres (whether under the welfare office or within the school system) is even more important than vertical co-ordination between nursery class, grade 1 and grade 2.

B: A new conception of "teaching" must be advanced so that many activities which traditionally belong to the educational fields of day-care centres, nursery schools, pre-schools and recreation centres should be considered serious, instructive and useful in the context of teaching.

C: In accordance with item B, the aesthetic dimension (rather than the traditional aesthetic subjects) must be given a higher priority in school.

D: Co-ordination between nursery class and grades 1 and 2 can be carried out in many ways: The children may (partly) be taught together; the teachers may teach jointly or alternate between the classes; the teaching may be organized in the traditional subjects or be more or less interdisciplinary. However, the principles stated in items B and C must be taken into account. - With respect to very extreme forms of co-ordination, it is proposed that municipal school systems or individual schools should be allowed (vertically) to establish classes of normal size with about seven children from each of the three age groups, - or (horizontally) to establish a "whole-day-school" compounded of school and recreation centre.

In addition, the report contains a number of more concrete proposals some of which are "general", i.e., they should be carried out no matter how the elementary instruction is organized. The main general proposal is that the minimum number of lessons per week be increased to 20 instead of 15 in order to make more activating teaching possible.

However, other proposals are "special" as they are only intended to be in force in those municipal school systems that decide to carry out a co-ordination of three classes. These proposals deal with working time and obligations of school teachers vs. pre-school teachers and with duration and number of lessons in the nursery class vs. grades 1 and 2.

3. Main features of the reform.

The reform described in section 2 must be seen in the light of the rather ambiguous trends mentioned in section 1 above.

Although considerable scepticism was expressed, more and more children entered the nursery classes, and many experiments on co-ordination were carried out from 1966 to 1984, so that most of the proposals in fact intended to legalize things that were going on in many schools. This is a characteristic trait of Danish legislation and reforms in the fields of education.

Another remarkable feature is that it is left to the municipal authorities to decide whether they will establish some kind of "co-ordinated introductory education" in the first three years - including a broader conception of "teaching", a higher priority to aesthetic activities, and some co-operation between teachers (and children). - It is true that our public educational system ("the Folk School") has been very decentralized since 1970, but this particular freedom clearly reflects the contradictory views mentioned in section 1 as well as the fact that the first years in school is an intricate matter: One does not want to prescribe an arrangement which is not approved by parents and/or staff.

A third thing to be mentioned is that the nursery class is still not compulsory for the children. It may appear inconsistent to propose improvements and recommend co-ordination with grades 1 and 2, and, on the other hand, to let the nursery class remain optional for the children. However, this is also due to our general principle of freedom in educational matters strengthened by the special sensibility of the area of elementary instruction.

Finally, it must be stressed that despite the various signs of weakness mentioned here, the committee's report does clearly take sides as to the fundamental contents and attitudes of a coordinated introductory education in the three classes: The broader conception of "teaching" so that it includes play as well as the proposal to strengthen the aesthetic dimension ought to prevent a situation of more academic training for even younger children.

4. Some suggestions on causes and effects.

In general, the report was received in a mainly positive way, and gave rise to some important amendments of the Education Act of 1985. However, as could have been foreseen, the legislation did not include the proposals that imply increased expenses. Neither did it exclude that some municipal school systems can introduce an education in nursery classes and grades 1 and 2 that is not in accordance with the spirit of the report.

Further, it cannot be ignored that a certain suspicion has marked the reception by the main groups of the personnel involved: Pre-school teachers working in nursery classes within the school fear that they will be replaced by teachers, since "teaching" must now take place in these classes. Teachers fear that the reform does not provide them with conditions that allow them to educate the young children in an adequate way, and that pre-school teachers with a lower salary will partly replace them in grades 1 and 2. Finally, pre-school teachers working in kindergartens/nursery schools and pedagogues working in recreation centres belonging to the municipal welfare systems argue that the school is unable to offer good conditions for creative expansion.

Rather than to go into details with the concrete reactions to the report and the legislation, the conclusion of this article is to draw attention to some general points and problems which might be interesting objects for future studies in the history of education. The table in the next page presents some major views and problems at various levels, which, in an unpredictable combination, have influenced the development so far, just as they will also determine the future realization of the reform.

One often has the impression that "development just goes on". For instance, the number of nursery classes increased in spite of various scruples and criticisms, cf. Section 1. Correspondingly many municipal school systems are eager to carry out "co-ordinated introductory education" in the three classes although neither teachers nor parents seem to be prepared for those activities of teaching in a broader sense, including aestehtic education, that the report sees as the fundamental content of a true co-ordination. In fact, local authorities frequently seem to think that periodic work with interdisciplinary topics joint for the three classes, and an organization in which only a few teachers teach each group of children, are the essentials of the reform.

However, in our time so many reports on experiments, articles in journals as well as documents to and from local authorities are available that historians will soon be able to throw light upon the game of many forces that determines the development.

As mentioned elsewhere (Vejleskov 1982), such historical analyses should not only consider economic, sociological and social-political aspects. - Views and insights into education and child psychology on the part of experts, administrators, teachers, and parents are undoubtedly playing an important role too. For instance, the folowing two questions are concerned with conceptions that - in different ways and at different levels - have influenced and will influence the policy and practice in the whole field of the children's transition to primary school:

1. How important is the idea that children make a fundamental move from a state of play and development into a stage of learning at the age of six or seven? This idea seems to be closely related to the different traditions of pre-school pedagogy and school pedagogy. In a more indirect manner it is also connected with the idea that "the younger the child, the more he belongs to the parents" which - among other

	GENERAL HIGH LEVEL ISSUES	SPECIFIC, LOW LEVEL ISSUES
EDUCATIONEL POLICY	The tendency to increasingly move responsibility for young children from the family to public services The ideal of freedom and municipal autonomy vs. the need to give all children good conditions Interest in "compensatory education" for the less priviledged vs. more efficient training for the majority to meet future demands	The economic situation that prevents any growth of municipal and national expenses
TRADE UNION POLICY	The fact that teachers increasingly consider themselves wage earners rather than persons with a mission in life The fact that not only pre-school teachers, but also school teachers now make up low wages groups	The current unemployment The current conditions with respect to wages, working time, obligations etc.
PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY	Reflexions on general education vs school instruction Aesthetic vs. academic education Theories of children's development and learning	Teacher's qualifications to co-operate and teach in the broader sense Means to evaluate the outcome of aesthetic education etc. Information of parents about the new ways of teaching etc.
PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDES	Insights into the value of aesthetic education and personal expansion vs. eagerness to make sure that one's child becomes qualified for the labour market Uncertainty in one's role as an educator	Difficulties to understand/accept/support the changed teaching in school

things - implies the great sensibility of the whole field mentioned in Section 3 above.

2. What are the reasons for the rather paradoxical fact that most people do understand, and even praise, the value of aesthetic education, at the same time as this dimension is given an increasingly lower priority in the school?

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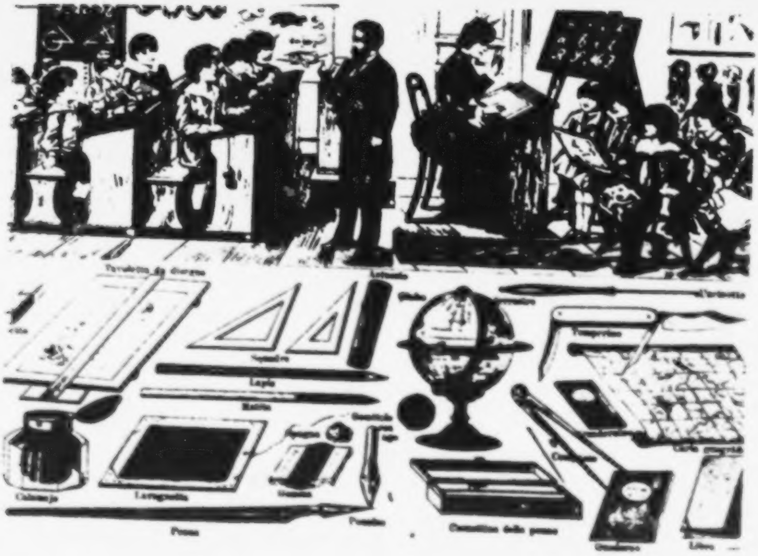
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Penna
Cassettina delle penne
Quaderno
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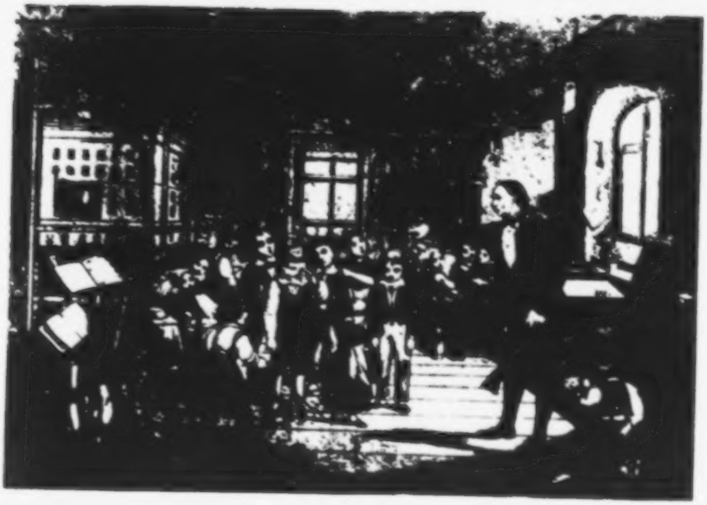


THE VANLOESE EXPERIMENT
NEW EDUCATION IN COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN DENMARK IN THE TWENTIES

Ellen Norgaard

The Vanloese experiment took place at Vanloese School in Copenhagen from 1924 to 1928. Vanloese was one of the city's relatively newly-annexed outer suburbs. During the years following 1870, many people had moved to Copenhagen, first and foremost to seek employment within the steadily-increasing industry. The population figures had increased from 180,000 in 1870 to approx. 580,000 in 1925.

In the 1920s, Copenhagen was Denmark's largest and most industrialized area. Of the country's 25,000 industrial concerns, i.e. those who made use of mechanical power - to use an expression of the times - approx. 5,000 were situated in Copenhagen. Almost a half of those people who in the trade statistics were described as "actual workers", lived in the city. Approx. 50% of the labour force were employed in these concerns or in various artisan trades. Of the remainder, some 15% were employed within commerce and general business, and approx. 18% in administrative positions and the like. In 1925, 90% of the dwellings in Copenhagen had electricity, 3/4 had their own toilet, 4% had central heating and 14% had access to a bathroom, but an investigation showed that this was often used for other purposes.

In the 20s, Copenhagen was still a town in growth, with its special constitution and therewith its special autonomy. Copenhagen was and is, in many ways, a state within the state of Denmark.

The Educational System

All children over the age of 7 went to school every day - 4 hours in the 1st classes and from 5 to 6 hours in the 7th. The Copenhagen school system had been extended during the years that the city had shown such violent growth. In about 1880 there were approx. 13,000 schoolchildren divided among free schools (i.e. no school fees), fee-paying schools and church schools. At that time there were also two reform schools and an orphanage. There had long been 50 pupils per class, and the educational authorities had tried to reduce this number. In the 1920s there were approx. 60,000 schoolchildren divided among 58 schools. One of these was Vanloese School, and this was still undergoing extension. Children's schooling was now free, they all received the same instruction and could all participate in the Middle School examination after the 5th class. Formal equality was introduced. The Middle School examination helped to give both the Copenhagen school system and other provinicial school systems a literary character. The proficiency requirements for the examination school were pressed down in the council school, The children's knowledge was tested by an annual examination at the end of each school year from the 1st class until the end of the school time. The number of pupils per class was now 31.1.

All children were subject to medical and dental examinations, and they could participate in the school meals service - in 1924-25, there were scarcely 8000 children receiving a hot meal at school during the winter half year. Those children who were unable to keep up with the general instruction were separated and given two forms of special education, either in extra classes or classes for retarded children, depending on their degree of learning difficulties. Boys and girls were taught separately, and they also played separately - there was usually a hoarding across the schoolyard, dividing this into a boys' and a girls' playground.

Progressive education.

There were approx. 2000 teachers employed within the Copenhagen educational system in the 1920s. Some of them were critical of the strong discipline, the class teaching and the literary requirements which characterized the Copenhagen and other school systems. These teachers found support for their points of view in the progressive or new European educational thinkers, as they were known at that time, a Western pedagogic and political current whose supporters wanted to create a school "at which the growing child could find the right conditions of growth for the good development embryo to be found implanted in it by the hand of Nature". If the children were given such a schooling, the people would be "of a new mould" and "the structure and total construction of Society would be formed along better and more equitable lines"

To what degree some of the teachers who were employed by the Copenhagen School Authorities were inspired by criticism of the system, after having become acquainted with these currents, is not known. Nor to what extent their criticism led them to seek positions at experimental schools outside the country. We know that many teachers travelled to Germany and observed school experiments there in the 20s, and that the Danish Union of Teachers, the Copenhagen Teachers' Association and The Pedagogic Society together invited one of this movement's most-known representatives, the German Professor Peter Petersen (1884-1952), to hold lectures in Copenhagen in 1923. In his lectures, he strongly criticized the existing school, and sketched out a new school and a new upbringing, conjuring up a poetic vision of a reformation which spanned "the children's world to a People with a new sentiment and to a happier Europe".(p. 36).

The Free Classes at Vanloese

Some of those teachers who were critical of the Copenhagen school system, and who had also been inspired by the lectures given by Peter Petersen, were employed at Vanloese School. The school principal, Elster Bonnichsen (1883-1968), had visited experimental schools in Germany, and wanted to start experiments in Denmark. The school was situated in one of the town's outer suburbs, and thus in rural surroundings, which according to the teachers made it suitable for an experiment of this kind. And thus it was the school principal and some of the teachers who took the initiative for the experiment. It was not the parents. The leading educational officers were approached, and they gave permission for a 1st class to be taught in a "diverging manner". But the results achieved after 4 years should correspond to those achieved by classes taught in the "normal manner".

The parents were informed by the school of the plans for the experiment. Those parents whose children were to enter the 1st class in August 1924 were called to a meeting in March, at which they were told that if they wanted it, they could have their children placed in a class in which they would be taught following the principles of the "work school". These principles were in "precise harmony with the child's nature and desire for activity". The children should participate in organizing the teaching, and this would increase their desire to learn. Girls and boys should be taught together. Moreover, the instruction they would receive would be more free at the beginning, so that the transition from the independent life in the home to the disciplinary forms of the school would not be so abrupt. After 4 years, the children should have learned the same as children in the normal classes. What was involved was simply an improvement in the hitherto recognized and approved form of schooling. The chief education officer, P.A. Fossing (1860-1935), the school principal and the teacher Sigfred Degerboel (1889-1954) , who was to be one of the teachers of the experimental class, spoke with enthusiasm for the project.

The Parents

The parents who had their children at Vanloese School were first and foremost skilled and unskilled workers. By far the majority of them had moved to Vanloese during the course of the later years. There were 4,300 living in the parish of Vanloese in 1921, 9,100 in 1925 and 13,300 in 1930. It is likely that many of them were 1st generation Copenhageners, and who for this reason had moved out to the outer suburb's small houses with gardens and lower buildings, perhaps to be able to cultivate a kitchen garden and live in surroundings which suited them better than the large tenement houses of the inner city. How many of them had been hit by the unemployment of the times, we do not know; it was probably just as widespread here as in the rest of the city. We know from the teachers that the conditions in many of the homes were hard. Many of the parents had belonged to Copenhagen's many homeless, and came from the hutments which had been built in the vicinity of Vanloese School. Unlike so many of the other temporary wooden houses, these were not demolished after the war. In 1925 they were taken over by the newly-created Social Philanthropic Association, the aims of which were to help the homeless; the buildings were restored and many of these people were given housing here. The buildings were not pulled down until the beginning of the 1970s.

These parents who were to have their children in the 1st class had met up in large numbers. They had no special qualifications for being able to evaluate the recommendations of the school commissioner, the school principal and the teachers. But they must have thought that the proposal sounded tempting. So many of them entered their children for the experimental class that two classes had to be established, and the school had to close for further enrolment.

Those parents who entered their children for the experimental classes in 1924 were more or less the same as those who had children in the normal classes. There was, however, a small but distinct difference; there were slightly more children of skilled workers or lower salaried employees in the free classes than in the normal classes. This can be interpreted as if it were the somewhat more conscious and knowing parents who placed their children in the free classes. And some of them perhaps also recognized that their children were not quick to learn, and that they therefore had special need of a more gentle start to their schooling. For example there were five pupils designated to classes for retarded children, and five pupils described as backward children in 1.c., the class dealt with in a preserved diary. And this evaluation was supported by the test undertaken by the later school principal and school psychologist Sofie Rifbjerg (1886-1961), with Binet-Simons intelligence test, Danish edition 1930, which at that time was still untried in Denmark.

Many of these parent groups were associated with the Social Democratic voters' organizations. Statements from teachers and old pupils support this fact. It was even claimed by one of the old pupils that the members of the Social Democratic voters' associations had agreed to place their children in the free classes. Unfortunately, the local Party records have proved impossible to trace, so the validity of this claim has not been able to be confirmed. Two of the parents of the four academics' children in the class covered by the diary later became known Social Democratic politicians, Hartvig Frisch and Astrid Skjoldbo.

Those parents who placed their children in the free classes at Vanloese thus had a social position which was relatively low on the social ladder in the class-divided Danish community. And this meant that their earning possibilities, and thereby their housing situation, their social security and their own and their children's possibilities of education lay fixed. At the same time, many of them had declared political affiliations with the Social Democratic Party, which would indicate that they were conscious of their social ranking. To what degree this awareness was the reason for them placing their children in precisely the free classes, is not clear, and is probably impossible to clarify. But the relatively high enrolment in the free classes must in all cases be capable of being interpreted as criticism of the existing Copenhagen school by a population group - the skilled and unskilled workers.

The Free Classes

The two first free classes were set up at Vanloese School in 1924. There were started 6 1st classes at Vanloese this year, and 235 1st classes throughout the whole of Copenhagen. Vanloese School was big - it had 1,146 pupils in 1924 and 1,861 in 1928.

The teachers had changed the classrooms for the experimental classes. The desks had been removed and replaced with small tables and chairs. There were table mats and vases containing flowers on the tables. The classrooms should resemble a "good, Danish" home. This would ease the transition from home to school. And this was one of the aims of the experiment. The behaviour and conduct demanded in the class would be the same as in this good, sympathetic home. This involved first and foremost that the children should be brought up to be honest and truthful. But the teachers also instilled the children with various other norms from the middle-class home. For instance, the diary contains an example of how the teacher showed the children how they should go in and out of doors, and another example of how a "somewhat indecent" song was stopped.

At the same time that the teachers were to ease the transition from home to school, they wanted to study the child when, in the teacher's opinion, the child was more or less given a free rein. And this meant that the children had freedom of movement and speech in the classroom.

Today, these intentions would appear to be inconsiderate. . The question is whether the appearance and norms of the good home were the same for this group of parents, and thus for the pupil group, as for the teachers. There is nothing in the material to indicate that the teachers have considered to what degree their norms and their conduct, by virtue of their social and cultural positions, differed from those of the children. And at the same time that the teachers sought to liberate what was "natural" in the child, when it was given a more or less free hand, they did not stop to consider the effect on the child when a girl was stopped in the middle of a song, because in their opinion it was naughty, while it was maybe accepted in the child's home. To a certain extent, the teachers' attitudes to these problems can be explained by the fact that the norms of the middle classes were at that time more firmly established than they are today. But, at the same time, the attitude of the teachers to these problems is probably an expression for their realization that they were dealing with a parent group with big financial and social problems, but that they were not to any great degree aware that a parent group with such problems also had its own particular social cultural character. After present concepts, this had to be respected if the teachers were to gain an insight into the children's reality. Knowledge of this reality would have been a precondition for the teachers being able to establish that connection they sought to attain between the teaching and the everyday life of the children. Furthermore, the teachers thought that the children in this environment should be "free", but as we understand things today, we must also raise the question of whether they were, when at the same time they had to respect the norms laid down by the teachers.

Work in the Class

The daily work in the class, however, progressed without the above-mentioned conditions appearing to have created problems.

The instruction that the teachers had planned and organized was effected,

experiences were harvested and plans were realized, but without much modification.It also appears from both the diary and from excerpts from other papers written by the teachers that the children were stimulated by the instruction they received, and that even the introvert children became creative and active. They became inquisitive, posed questions, and almost all of them worked with the material presented by the teacher. Very often, this was material that the teachers themselves had drawn up, material brought by the children or which had been obtained in cooperation with some bigger children at the school or by the parents. Much of the material was collected on the many outings the children made in areas which at that time had not been built upon.

The cooperation with the parents was good. The parents' meetings were well-attended, and they came with material for the class, with contributions to the class fund, and the parents of some of the classes formed societies.

And, as time went by, the teachers gradually felt that their objects were being fulfilled. Indeed, after two or three years they were assured that their forms of teaching were fruitful In the class, the children were given "the right conditions of growth for the good development embryo", and they would become "soundly-judging, bold and energetic people" there was use for. At the same time, the teachers became aware that the basis on which the experiment had been initiated - that within four years the children should learn under free forms the same as children in a normal class - was not tenable. They quite simply realized that if the children's interests were allowed to control the acquisition of knowledge to such a degree as was the case in the experimental class, then they would learn different things to those learned in a normal class. This realization was to be of significance for two conditions: it supported the teachers' already quite strong criticism of the existing ~~council~~ school, and it resulted in the instruction in that experimental class covered by the diary in the autumn of 1927 having to be rearranged, because "that dark cloud" - the annual examination after the fourth class - was approaching. According to the agreement with the Education Authority, the class was to be examined at this point. The agreement had to be kept, and at the same time it was important for the future of the progressive concepts that the results of the examination were as good as possible.

The Educational Authorities and the Experimental Classes

The School Authorities had held a passive attitude with regard to the experiment. Chief Education Officer Fossing had visited the school several times, which also appears from the diary, but he had never interfered. In 1927, there were ten in all, and these were being worked with enthusiastically. The parents supported the classes and cooperated with the teachers to an extent and in a manner which was completely unknown within the Copenhagen school system. The great support for the classes would appear to have been the reason why an investigation was started

The investigation resulted in a report which was submitted to the educational authorities in June 1928. They decided that in view of the conclusions drawn, the classes should cease to be "free" experimental classes. This meeting was held some days before the two first experimental classes took the annual examination in the 4th class, which in accordance with the agreement made in 1924 should form the basis for the evaluation of the experiment. The educational authorities, however, did not immediately announce their decision concerning the closing of the classes.

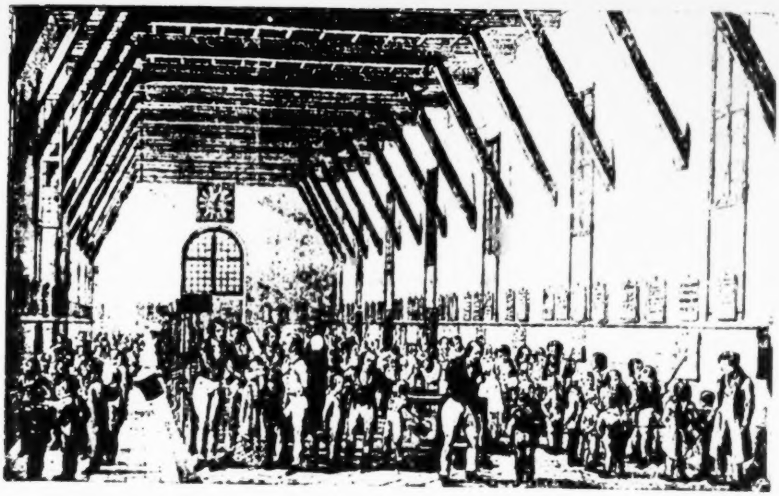
The first two experimental classes managed the annual examination "more or less tolerably", also in the opinion of the educational authorities. The class covered by the diary reached the average for Copenhagen, while the second lay slightly under this level. New experimental classes were started in August 1928, and both teachers and pupils worked confidently further. In August, the school principal was informed of the decision made by the educational authorities, but he did not tell the teachers or the parents about this. And when the educational authorities finally made their decision public in the daily press in October, all of those implicated were completely astonished, and some claimed that they were downright shocked. This kind of publicity no doubt laid the basis for the quite dramatic sequence of events which followed. For example, the National News of 27/10-1928 commented on the report from the educational authorities under the heading: "Failure of the Progressive Educational Theories".

Conclusion

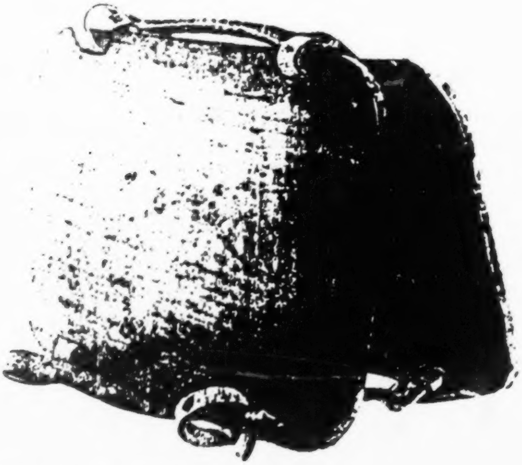
The closing of the Vanloese classes developed into a conflict between the directors of education and an uncontrollable parent group. And this conflict received "good" coverage in the media of the times; both the dailies and the trade press carried many articles concerning the closure, and editorials both for and against the progressive education. And because this conflict was conducted between an educational authority which was led by the conservative, quick-witted and already-known Mayor Kaper, and a parent group from which even the leading social democrats had dissociated themselves, the conflict was politicized in the general conscience. And because the conflict was such good media material, the politicized conflict became known to all. The new ~~educational~~ ideas and "free" upbringing were thus politicized way beyond the world of the school. The concepts of progressive and "free" upbringing were declared to be left-wing, and at the same time they were called "communistic". And the question is whether this one-sided politicizing of progressive education became a burden for the pedagogic development in Denmark for many years into the future.

That question which arises spontaneously is to what degree there was a connection, on some mental or conrete level or another, between some of the arguments from this public and well-formulated debate, and that basis on which the skilled and the unskilled workers, who were members of the local social democratic electors' association, had placed their children in the "free" classes four years earlier. Was there at the start, or did it arise gradually, a connection between their political and their pedagogic engagement? The question can probably never be answered satisfactorily. It is more than likely that they chose to place their children in a "free" class because they found that this form of schooling was more human and more fitting than that existing. And, among other things, it was probably also out of the wish for more human and fitting conditions in society that they had associated themselves with the Social Democratic Party.

question which automatically springs to mind is whether such a conflict could have arisen in a town subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education. And, indeed, whether the Ministry would ever have agreed to such an experiment on the conditions stated. The answer must be that we do not know, but that it is hardly likely.



La Scuola di mutuo insegnamento di Santa Caterina in Milano



Cartella scolastica (1910 c.)

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

(1917-present time)

Gottfried Uhlig

The countries which so far have taken their course to socialism started their development not only at different times but also under extremely different political, economical, social and ideological conditions. Socialist revolutions were carried out successfully in highly developed industrial countries such as Czechoslovakia or the GDR, in countries with a medium level of economic development such as Russia, Poland and Hungary, in agricultural countries with low industry such as Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Corea and Cuba, and also in former colonies or dependent and economically underdeveloped countries where we often can find vestiges of feudalism. To the last group belong vast peripherical areas of the former czarist Russia, China, Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Albania. Not less manyvarious were the previous history of these countries, the political and other opinions predominating there, their religious traditions, the way of living of their peoples, the developmental level of science, art and literature as well as other factors of mental life.

Of course, the different starting points of the socialist countries'development are also reflected in the level of their school systems. In terms of compulsory education there was the following situation at the beginning of the transition from capitalist or pre-capitalist society to socialism:

1. In a number of countries there was no compulsory education at all at this time. To these countries belong Russia and the non-Russian areas of the czardom, Mongolia, Tuva[1], China, Corea and Vietnam. In these countries many children did not attend a school. In Russia, for instance, only 51 per cent of all children aged between 8 and 11 received education in 1914/15[2], in China even only 20 per cent of the children of school age in 1949[3]. There were no secular or state schools in Mongo-

lia at the beginning of the revolution in 1921. Only a few boys were given a training at lamasery schools (similar to the medieval schools in Europe).

2. In the countries of the second group existed a four- to six-year compulsory elementary education which, however, had not been implemented untill the revolution took place. To this group belong Albania, Cuba and Laos. In Albania, for example, only 33 per cent of the children of the respective age attended an elementary school in school year 1938/39, in Cuba about 55.6 per cent in 1953, and in Laos altogether 30 per cent in the sixties[4]. The situation in the bourgeois republics of Estland and Lettland between 1919 and 1940 had been similar to that in the countries mentioned above. In both countries the majority of the children of school age was admitted to six-year elementary schools but in Estland 43 per cent of the pupils broke off their training prematurely, and in Lettland 50 per cent of the working people's children had been going to school only for three or four winters[5].

3. The majority of the European socialist countries can be summarized in one group. In these countries seven- or eight-year compulsory primary education was introduced and implemented to different degrees. But it had never been implemented completely, because numerous children of the respective age did not attend school or left it prematurely. In Romania which was most behind within this group children were going to school for 2.8 years on the average in 1930[6]. In Hungary which was ranking amongst the most developed countries of this group 91.4 per cent of all children started to go to school in 1938 but only 47.6 per cent of them managed to finish the sixth class[7]. There was existing formal seven-year education in Poland, Lithuania (between 1919 and 1940), Romania and Bulgaria, and an eight-year compulsory education in Yugoslavia and Hungary.

4. As far as Czechoslovakia and the GDR are concerned compulsory eight-class comprehensive education has already completely been implemented within the capitalist society (that means in Germany in the case of the German Democratic Republic). More-

over, in Germany (including the territory on which later the German Democratic Republic was founded) the socalled Weimar Constitution[8] of 1919 enacted compulsory vocational training which, however, had not been realized till the end of World War II. In Czechoslovakia the vocational school system was more enhanced than in other comparable countries, too.

In the most countries of the third and fourth group (with the exception of Bulgaria where certain traditions of the national struggle for independence have had an influence since the end of the 19th century and caused democratical characteristics of the school system) compulsory primary education was organized in a dualistic way, so that on the one hand there were less efficient schools for the majority of the pupils and on the other hand better equipped and more efficient schools running over a longer period for a small elite. At such elite schools almost exclusively children of the propertied classes were prepared for higher professions or a high school training. That is why compulsory education running over one and the same period led to very different standards, which led to a discrimination of the working people's children against the others.
Moreover, a considerable difference in the level of education between town and country was a characteristic feature of pre-socialist education. There were no schools at all in many villages of economically weaker countries. In Bulgaria, for instance, 1,600 villages (= 27 per cent) had not even an elementary school[9]. In Poland 73 per cent of the country schools gave the children only a four-class education over a period of seven years[10]. In Germany (respectively the GDR), there existed formally the same eight- year compulsory education for all children but in the towns the children were taught at completely developed schools with eight classes, whereas still in 1945 at 4,114 one-class village schools all age-groups were taught by one teacher[11].
In most cases the girls had less chances of getting an education. They formed the majority of the children who did not at-

tend school, especially in Mohammadan regions (Albania, Central Asian areas of the USSR) and in Mongolia. And in the cases they did go to school they were given only lower education than the boys of the same age.
The different regulations about compulsory education and its no less different implementation caused a high rate of illiteracy in the majority of the countries which today are socialist ones. According to the last statistics that were collected in each country before the socialist revolution took place illiteracy in all Asian socialist countries, except Corea, and Albania amounted to more than 80 per cent of the population[12]. Only in Lettland (1939) Hungary, Slovenia, Czechoslovakia and Estland less than 10 per cent of the population were illiterates. Only in the GDR (respectively Germany) there was in fact no illiteracy.[13]

In view of these facts it was self-evident that immediately after the victory of the revolution all socialist countries proceeded to the introduction or development of compulsory education, to its extension and to the qualitative improvement of education. This was not a question of good will. Without a general improvement of the level of education no political power can be exercised by those people who were oppressed up to that time, no change in the property relations, no industrialisation, no development of agricultural large-scale production, no building up of a strong national defence can be put into practice, and consequently the aim of socialism, to guarantee the universal development of the personality of all citizens, can not be achieved.
To establish socialist compulsory education it was necessary to expel at first all fascist, militaristic, all racist and nationalistic ideas and all other reactionary theories from the schools. To achieve this not only appropriate school books and curricula were necessary but above all teachers who were able and ready to realize such a progressive education. In all countries the new contents of education could be implemented only

in the process of political and intellectual conflicts often connected with the struggle against counter-revolutionary terror. Secondly the introduction of socialist compulsory education brought about a general improvement of the educational level of all stages and school types. The differences in the educational level between town and country, and between boys and girls, could be decreased.

Thirdly the old dualistic school system was replaced by a unified comprehensive school in which all pupils were furthered equally. This happened usually in the first period of the revolution.

And at last - this will be considered in detail now - compulsory education was to be implemented qua~~l~~ntitatively, too. In this respect the countries had to fulfill different tasks depending on their concrete historical situation. In this connection we can distinguish between the following steps:

- admission of a growing number of children to school, establishment of a school network
- realization of compulsory elementary schools running over four to six classes
- transition to a compulsory primary school system with seven or eight classes
- increase of the demands in the primary schools, reduction of the number of premature leavings.

The implementation of compulsory education encountered manyfold difficulties. These were: the lack of material means in these former underdeveloped countries, an insufficient infrastructure, the initial poverty of many families which therefore urged their children to work, prejudices of the population against education, counter-revolutionary terror against teachers, pupils and parents[14], the lack of qualified teachers, and many other factors. Special problems emerged in multinational countries where the lessons had to be held in many languages. More than 40 national minorities which at first had no literary language existed in the Soviet Union alone. In Tuva a literary language had to be created even for the majority of the population, for the

Tuvinians, after the revolution. Moreover, many nomades lived in the Asian step zones and the children of them were admitted to school only under great difficulties. This had an influence on the struggle for compulsory education in the USSR, in Mongolia and Tuva.

The fascist invasion of the Soviet Union, the war in Corea and the French and American interventions in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea caused severe setbacks of the implementation of compulsory education.

Despite all obstacles the following results had been achieved untill the end of the transition period to socialism and of the building up of the foundations of socialism:

USSR, Mongolia	four-year elementary school, seven-year primary school in towns and workers' settlements
Cuba	six-year elementary school
Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Corea	seven-year primary school
Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Yugoslavia	eight-year primary school

In Vietnam all children go to school for seven years[15], in Laos for five years, in Kampuchea for four years and in China for five years[16].

But the introduced regulations on compulsory education could not be fully complied with in each country at that time. In Poland, for instance, 99.4 per cent of the children living in towns were admitted to schools with seven classes but only 87.3 per cent of the country children[17]. In Romania between 17 and 18 per cent of the pupils left the primary schools prematurely still in the middle of the sixties[18]. In Albania about 85 per cent of the town children and 77.3 per cent of the country children moved from the fourth to the fifth class in the school year of 1963/64[19]. In Yugoslavia still 15 per cent of the children of the respective age (between 7 and 14 years) did not go to school in 1960/61, in Bosnia and Herzegovina even 28 per cent[20]. In China five-year elementary compulsory education has not been fully implemented up to now[21].

But in comparison with the situation at the beginning of the implementation of compulsory education obvious feats and progress could be achieved with respect to quantity and quality of education. The most significant cultural achievement in this connection was performed by the Soviet Union. In this country of vast dimensions with its multinational population of almost 200 million inhabitants a four-year elementary education had already been introduced by law in 1930, scarcely 13 years after the victory of the October Revolution, and had been implemented untill the middle of the 1930ies. The fascist invasion threw back the Soviet school system in its development, too. 82,000 (42.8 per cent) out of 191,345 comprehensive schools had been destroyed or made unusuable[22]. Nevertheless, compulsory education could be extended to seven years in the whole country in 1951/52.

In the time between 1953 and 1963 the majority of the socialist countries took a number of measures to introduce polytechnical lessons and to combine the lessons at school with the work in industry and agriculture.

In connection with these measures which had become necessary on account of world-wide scientific and technical progress compulsory education was extended by one year in general. It came to nine years in Czechoslovakia, to eight years in the USSR, in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Mongolia. In 1959 the GDR decided to introduce step by step an ten ~~eight~~-year compulsory education which at about the same time was started with in the Soviet Union, too. And at last the extension of compulsory education in Corea from 7 to 9 years was also one of the measures of this kind.

In the sixties and seventies the majority of the socialist countries entered a developmental period which they define as the shaping of the developed socialist society. It is marked amongst others by the constant growth of industrial production, by the transition to intensively expanded reproduction with the help of rationalisation and automation, by the comprehensive mechanisation of agricultural production, by the active democratic co-operation of a growing number of citizens in all fields of social life, by the improvement of the cultural living standard of the population and by similar characteristics. From this arise manyfold new demands and requirements on the educational system. In response to these demands the socialist countries carried out more or less comprehensive educational reforms which began at different times. These reforms were aiming at:

- the combination of all educational levels in a way that they support the process of the development of personality
- the new determination of the contents of education on all levels
- an increasing effectivity of political and moral education
- a better co-ordination of general and vocational training and the extension of vocational training
- the intensification of the co-operation between the schools and all fields of social life.

For the implementation of such reforms it seems to be advisable to extend schooltime for all children.

The USSR and the GDR started already in the first years of the sixties to reorganize their educational system according to these points, followed by Romania and Bulgaria in the end of the sixties. In the seventies also Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Mongolia and Corea decided and began to carry out educational reforms, each to a different extend. China is just preparing such a reform. In Poland the school reform which had been decided upon in 1973 was broken off because of the incidents in 1980/81. Early in 1986 a draft of a school reform under the present conditions was put forward.

In the course of the educational reforms of the sixties and seventies ten-year compulsory comprehensive education has been implemented basically in the USSR, the GDR, in Corea, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. In Corea children have to go to nursery schools for one year before they are admitted to school. Hungary and Poland are trying to implement a ten-year compulsory education system consisting of a school with eight classes and a further training over two years at schools of different types. Yugoslavia and Mongolia are providing for the pre-conditions of the future transition to a ten-year education for all children. Cuba and Vietnam are working on the introduction of a nine-year compulsory school system which is also to be introduced in China.

Since the beginning of the eighties a new stage in the struggle for compulsory education has emerged in the socialist countries. Rapid economical growth and the full implementation of the right to work have put questions of vocational training in the centre of attention. Therefore, some socialist states extend compulsory education to the different types of vocational schools. In Czechoslovakia and the GDR twelf-year compulsory comprehensive and vocational education has already been realized on different ways. Romania and Bulgaria[23] have taken measures to achieve the same. The prototype of a socialist educational reform that envisages a compulsory comprehensive and vocational training was created in the Soviet Union by the decision of the Supreme Soviet from April 12th, 1984 with the title "General lines of the comprehensive and vocational school reform"[24] which will be put into practice by 1990.

To sum up the results which had been achieved in the socialist countries within few decades in the field of compulsory education the following can be said:

1. Although the majority of the socialist countries had to introduce compulsory education under very unfortunate conditions considerable results could be achieved in a short time. Today compulsory nine- or ten-year secondary education exists in most of these countries. Vocational schools for all young people will also be established. Even in former underdeveloped countries which have begun their socialist development only a short time ago compulsory elementary education is implemented. China which has not yet a compulsory education had been thrown

far back by the detrimental effects of the socalled "Cultural Revolution" (1966 - 1976)[25].

2. In terms of compulsory education today the socialist countries do not differ from each other to such an extend as they did at the beginning of their development. Their educational levels approached each other. But there is a great multivariousness as far as the concrete steps towards the implementation of compulsory education, the contents and the structures of the educational systems are concerned. This shows that concordance on school political items does not end up to uniformity of the socialist countries but to a wealth of different special experience.

3. The more the socialist countries have managed to implement compulsory education quantitatively the more qualitative questions of it have been put in the centre of attention. These are the questions the teachers in the majority of these countries are faced with in their daily work.

Annotations:

1 The Tuvinian People's Republic which is a thinly populated area between the USSR and Mongolia gained its governmental independence in 1921 and joint the Soviet Union as an autonomous area (autonomous republic today) in 1944.

2 Pedagogičeskij slovar'. Tom II. Moskva 1960, p. 392

3 Education and Science. Beijing 1983, p. 8

4 Škola evropeijskich stran socializma. Moskva 1976, p. 279
N. S. Kolesnikov: Kuba: narodnoe obrazovanie i podgotovka nacional'nich kadrov 1959 - 1979. Moskva 1980, p. 14
G. Uhlig: Versuch einer Geschichte des Bildungswesens in der Volksdemokratischen Republik Laos. In: Erziehungswissenschaftliche Beiträge (Leipzig), Heft 3/1984, p. 25

5 Hauptetappen der internationalen Entwicklung der sozialistischen Schule. Leipzig 1985, p. 65. Prosveščenie v stranach mira. Moskva 1967, p. 148

6 Škola evropeijskich stran socializma, p. 189

7 Škola evropeijskich stran socializma, p. 79

8 After the ruin of the German monarchy the new constitution was adopted in Weimar in 1919.

9 Škola evropeijskich stran socializma, p. 52

10 Das Schulwesen sozialistischer Länder in Europa. Berlin, p. 288

11 G. Uhlig: Der Beginn der antifaschistisch-demokratischen Schulreform 1945 - 1946. Berlin 1965, p. 112

12 G. Uhlig: Gemeinsamkeiten und Besonderheiten der Entwick- des Volksbildungswesens in der Übergangsperiode zum Sozialismus. In: Leipziger Beiträge zur Rev.forschung. Lehrheft 13. Leipzig 1986

13 see 12

14 See G. Uhlig: Terror - Kampfmittel der Konterrevolution gegen den Fortschritt der Volksbildung. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, Heft 4/1982, p. 351

15 Untill the educational reform of 1981 there had been no compulsory education in Vietnam although the children had been going to school for seven years, as a rule. Since that time there has existed a nine-year compulsory education (the implementation is being worked on).

16 Legal regulations on compulsory education are being prepared in China. At the time being most children attend the five-year elementary school (often they do not finish it), and in developed areas eight- or nine-year secundary school.

17 Škola evropeijskich stran socializma, p. 159

18 see 17, p. 201   19 see 17, p. 282   20 see 17, p. 236

21 horizont (Berlin), Nr. 7/1985, p. 25

22 G. Uhlig: Zur Entwicklung des sowjetischen Schulwesens in den Jahren des Großen Vaterländischen Krieges (1941 - 1945). In: Jahrbuch für Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte, Jg. 25/1985. Berlin 1985, p. 110

23 Najden Čakărov: Četirideset godini văzchod na obrazovatelnoto delo. Sofia 1984

24 O reforme obščeobrazovatel'noj i professional'noj školy. Moskva 1984, p. 37

25 Education and Science, p. 21 - 23

SUMMARY

The paper informs about the very different standard of compulsory education in the later socialist countries before the beginning of socialist revolution. Four groups of countries can be distinguished :

1. Compulsory education was not yet introduced.
2. An elementary education of four to six Years was introduced by law, but not yet realized.
3. A primary education of seven or eight years was introduced by law, but not yet put into practice.
4. Only in Czechoslovacia and later GDR an eight years' primary education was completely realized, professional education was already on a high level.

The countries of all these groups connected the development of socialist society with the struggle for a higher standard of compulsory education. Enrolment of children increased, the drop out of pupils diminished, compulsory education was lengthening step by step. Today most socialist countries have introduced a compulsory secondary education of nine or ten years. Especially European socialist countries try hard to make professional education compulsory.

Since questions of quantity of compulsory education were solved, the questions of quality are becoming more and more important. In this respect the present Soviet educational reform is giving an example.

PARENTS AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAWS IN ENGLAND & WALES (1880-1980)

Geoffrey Stevenson

David Tyack identified two stages in the growth of compulsory education in America, the symbolic stage, with a high ideological content, and the bureaucratic, which concentrated on providing the necessary organisational apparatus. The dividing line he found to be about 1890. "Both phases," he stated, "may be seen as part of significant shifts in the functions of families and the status of children and youth".[1] His object was to clarify the value of alternative 'ways of seeing' compulsory schooling offered by a range of explanatory models drawing on different kinds of evidence. One such 'way of seeing' adopted by Miriam David[2] covers the compulsory period in England by highlighting the question of a 'revolutionary invasion' of parental rights over children at the start, and the reassertion of parental rights in the last decade. The ideological content of the latter is inescapable: the temper of Seldon's 'The Riddle of the Voucher'[3] in its opposition to the monopoly aspects of contemporary English public education comparing with the implacable Voluntaryist rejection (1843-1867) of similar monopolistic aspects in the hands of the Church of England. The paper seeks to survey a century of universal compulsory education for such 'ways of seeing' its impact, looking both at expressions of parental "rights and duties" and at consensual attempts to exploit a home-school link, in the light of broader 'family-education' relationships.

In view of the general nature of some arguments against compulsory education, that it means State monopoly of education which makes schools and their pupils completely subservient to the State,[4] a comparative analysis is helpful, not least in identifying England, along with France, as examples of a "liberal" type of legislation.[5] In the English case, the Act of 1944 makes it "the duty of the parent of every child of compulsory school age to cause him to receive efficient full-time education suitable to his age, ability and aptitude, either by regular attendance at school or otherwise",[6] thus permitting both independent schooling and education "otherwise" than at school. Thus the particular dimensions of compulsory education in England and Wales need to be spelled out.

Indirect compulsion led to the schooling of certain employed children on a half-time basis and to paupers' children, through legislation which dealt with Factory Acts and the Poor Law. Thus the provision of single-purpose bodies (School Boards) in some areas with the power to compel education by bye-laws, which occurred in 1870, and the general application of such powers from 1880, crossed the Rubicon, in directly compelling parents. Hurt shows how this drift presented problems to the skilled workman and small shopkeeper who had voluntarily schooled their children before 1880, and did not wish their 'association with the lowest children in the town', nor with the half-timers in northern towns.[7] The principle having been established for parents of children aged between 5 and 10, the extension of compulsory schooling into teenage followed, to 14 in

1918, 15 in 1947, and 16 in 1973. It could be said that the collapse of the youth labour market in the 1970s has achieved by indirect means the extension of training, if not schooling, to 18, a proposal forming part of both the 1918 and 1944 legislation, but never brought into effect. Only in under-five education has the compulsory principle not intruded.[8] Thus the life-cycle scope of English legislation, in a century when the age of adult majority was finally brought down to 18.

It is clear that for long the perception of the coerced parent was a deficit one, 'a prospective enemy, to be coerced by threat of summons and penalty'. Nor was this unrelated to the facts: a study of a working-class district of Sheffield showed that 'education had been forced on a community that, in the main, was strongly opposed to any interference in 'family life' and, if its resentment was to be overcome, schools had much to do' and, while belligerent incidents disappeared slowly, even in the 1960s home-school co-operation was inhibited by complex working hours both of fathers and mothers.[9] Direct parental contributions through fees (which were part of the 1880 scene but abandoned in elementary schools in the 1890s and in secondary schools in 1944) could have been held to have associated parents with schools. The abandonment was part of a policy of achieving equity between parents, a policy which David notes was reversed in Labour thinking in the 1970s in favour of supporting parental rights. In the interim, such policy reports of the 1930s as that of Hadow on the Primary school invoked 'the nation' as a surrogate, ideal parent: 'What a wise and good parent would desire for his own children, that a nation must desire for all children."[10]

At which point the English system might be said to be well within the bureaucratic phase. The 1980 Education Act enshrined parental rights to be informed, to choose schools and to share in their government. It also established a scheme for assisted places, whereby fees were paid to permit pupils to enter the independent sector of education. The latter can be seen as one of two historical products of the growth of the English system, a replacement for the Direct Grant secondary school financed by central government from 1921 to 1976 to give it autonomy from the local bureaucracy, the Local Education Authority. The second product, the "dual system" of elementary schools in which religious interests were preserved, arose in 1902 to settle the problems of parental conscience, in particular in one-school (monopolistic) areas, which had been at the centre of the educational stage in 1870. In a century the 'deficit concept' had been replaced by the notion of parents as partners.

In another way parents stand as surrogates for the public good. The Institute for Economic Affairs whose central concern is "the constitutional framework and incentives that impel politicians and bureaucrats to pursue their own purposes and preferences at the expense of the public interest of voters and taxpayers who elect and pay for them" see the mechanism of a voucher system of finance as an answer to the perceived 'monopoly' situation where 94% of compulsory education takes place in the schools of the local bureaucracies. Hence the two pressure groups, the National Council for Educational Standards and the Friends of the Education Voucher Experiment in Representative Regions (FEVER), who exert pressure since 1980 for a fundamental experiment along these lines (that at Ashford in Kent LEA in 1978 giving them cause to believe in a strong public demand).

Voucher support, along the lines of 'public choice' theory or 'the economics of politics' in its English phrase, appears to be subject to the same climate of opinion as Cohen & Farrar[11] note in the New Hampshire experiment: 'Insiders and intellectuals saw vouchers as a solution to vague and abstract problems, such as monopoly power in education - not as the solution to the day-to-day problems of running a schools system'. Its current support can be traced to a publication of 1964,[12] though its advocates claim earlier support from the Catholic hierarchy in 1926 and even from Tom Paine in 1792.[13] It is too early to evaluate it, as the title of Seldon's book indicates.[14]

The formal aspect of the government of schools has seen a move, (reflected also in wider curriculum areas such as the former Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations) to incorporate alongside the politicians, bureaucrats and professionals, other interests of which parents are one. The pattern existing in the 1970s at the time of the Taylor Report [15]- of governing bodies for secondary schools and managing bodies for primary schools - reflected nineteenth century needs whereby foundation trusts were represented in secondary schools, and managing bodies emerged from the necessity of Victorian voluntary elementary schools requiring government financial assistance. These elements, together with tendencies for larger urban authorities to avoid school management committees, persisted, as indicated in Baron's research, with some changes, in particular in Sheffield. Baron argued that wider forces supporting change included fewer and more "remote" local authorities (in particular as a consequence of the 1974 reforms), "better educated and more articulate parents" (largely as a result of the reforms of 1944), and "in terms of belief and of ethnic origins, the nation is of a more heteregeneous character".[16]

As a result, the Taylor Report in 1977 argued the need for a governing body to support the aims of individual schools, both primary and secondary. Its parent member, Joan Sallis, illustrated this, arguing "many heads.. realised what collective pressure of governing bodies rooted in the school could mean against education's competitors for local resources - a very important fact indeed with the trend to corporate management".[17] Their proposal was to balance four interests in school government, those of parents, teachers and local community with those of elected political bodies. One measure of the 1980 Education Act, a product of the newly-elected Thatcher government, was provision for the election of parent governors, the full implementation of which was to be achieved by late 1985. A willingness in some circles for greater progress in this direction led to a Green Paper on 'Parental Interest at School' in May 1984 which suggested that a majority of parent representation would be the best means of demonstrating that "the schools in the State sector, which are those maintained by local education authorities, have always been intended to be more than an agency of local government or a place where teachers exercise their professional skills in the interests of pupils".[18] Response to this was however lukewarm, not least from those pressure groups representing parents. In fact, they neatly echo the views of the Cross Commission on Victorian elementary schools in 1885, which found no objection to parent managers, provided they were not a preponderating influence.[19] Both in the Taunton Commission on the endowed secondary schools in 1868 and in debates of universal secondary education prior to the 1944 Act, sympathetic comment was raised,[20] the doubts being of the partiality and subjectivity, and scope for interference, of parents, and the barriers to action being the absence of positive opinion.

Until the 1960s, knowledge of parents' attitudes to schools rests often on the interpretation of officials, the retrospective recollection of old people; the Plowden Report on Children and their Primary Schools produced two wide surveys of parental attitudes,[21] and a Schools Council research project reported small-scale action research in Southampton. Bynner reported in 1972 of parents in manual occupational groups "perhaps they see education more as a means to an immediate end, rather than as a general liberalising influence with long-term personal advantages". Lynch & Pimlott discovered that "few parents.. believed that the attitude of parents to schools and teachers played the decisive role in their child's education suggested by much research".[22] Only 17% of the Plowden national sample of primary schools had a parent-teacher organisation. However, the trend since the foundation of the National Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations in 1956 is clear enough, in particular with the three pressure groups, the Advisory Centre for Education, the Campaign for the Advancement of State Education and the National Federation just mentioned, forming a Home and School Council in 1967.[23] The interest in pre-compulsory education is more clearly an area of parental activity with the Pre-School Playgroups Association.

Developments in teacher-parent co-operation to strengthen the effectiveness in practical terms of compulsory education may have no close connection to either the early or recent ideological formations. It was in 1848 that J S Mill said of education "the case is not one in which the interests of and judgement of the consumer are a sufficient security for the goodness of the community",[24] and in 1982 that Ferdinand Mount wrote "The family is a subversive organisation ... the enduring permanent enemy of all hierarchies, churches and ideologies".[25] A century of the relationship between parental rights and compulsory education laws in England and Wales is not a linear one.

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RESUME

David Tyack a decouvert une période 'symbolique', et une autre 'bureaucratique' dans l'augmentation de l'enseignement obligatoire dans les Etats-Unis, la première, terminée envers 1890, avec un grand contenu idéologique. L'objet était à faire une comparaison du valeur de 'ways of seeing' l'enseignement obligatoire altèrnes qui sont offert par une série de modèles explicatives qui font appel aux espèces différentes de l'évidence. Cette communication cherche à regarder une siècle de l'enseignement obligatoire et universel pour les 'ways of seeing' son choc, tenant compte tant aux expressions des droits et obligations des parents, qu'aux essais consensuels à utiliser un lien entre la maison et l'école.

Le cas en l'Angleterre et les pays des Galles, ou l'enseignement obligatoire est 'libéral' dans le sens de permettre et l'éducation privée et l'éducation autrefoise ("otherwise") que dans l'école, est examiné en fonction des dimensions de la legislation qui a commencé en avant de 1880 avec les enfants de l'usine et de la hospice, qui éventuellement a cré onze années de l'éducation obligatoire de cinq ans a seize ans, et qui par l'intention dans les lois de 1918 et de 1944 de enlever l'âge de quitter l'éducation à dix-huit ans, a couvert à peu pres le cycle de vie entiere de la dépendence (comme elle était constatée en 1980).

L'opposition des parents contraints était et évident et de quelque durée, cependant à propos du temps que 'les droits des parents' étaient repris connaissance dans le débat publique envers 1970, la nation est souvent donnée l'image d'un 'parent' suppleant et idéal. Reciproquement, l'image des parents comme representants du bien publique est appelée à leur secours par le 'droit radical' qui attaquent le monopole de l'education au moyen de système de bon de caisse ("voucher"). Cette image, souvent avec un grand contenu idéologique, joue un rôle dans le legislation de 1980 touchant le gouvernement de l'école qui est en train d'être exécute au fin de 1985. Le rôle est aussi le produit d'une connaissance du valeur éducatif des liens entre la maison et l'école au temps de 'Plowden Report' en 1967, et des groupes de pression, ceux des parents y inclus.

PROSPETTIVE DELL'ISTRUZIONE OBBLIGATORIA IN ITALIA

Luigi Ambrosoli

Può essere naturale oggi, dopo oltre un secolo di "istruzione obbligatoria", porsi l'interrogativo se si tratta di un istituto da conservare o da abolire, oppure da riproporre in forma diversa da quella tradizionale. L'interrogativo trova giustificazione nella diffusione spontanea dell'istruzione nei paesi che hanno raggiunto un minimo di autosufficienza economica, stante lo stretto rapporto, che ormai nessuno mette più in discussione, tra sviluppo economico e sviluppo culturale. Ci si chiede se, date queste condizioni, non sia il caso di "liberalizzare" completamente la frequenza scolastica lasciando al mercato la funzione di imporre, con le leggi dell'occupazione, l'acquisizione di strumenti operativi, abilità pratiche, conoscenze teoriche.

Ma rinunciamo ad addentrarci in questo discorso e rivolgiamo la nostra attenzione alla situazione dell'obbligo scolastico in un paese, come l'Italia, nel quale si sta proprio ora discutendo, nel contesto della riforma della scuola media superiore, di prolungarlo per allinearne i limiti a quelli di altri Stati. E' forse proprio questa l'occasione di un completo ripensamento di un problema che è stato considerato finora con troppo schematismo e la cui soluzione è stata dettata da fattori di prevalenza di carattere politico, anche se è vero che si tratta di problema eminentemente politico in quanto tocca aspetti fondamentali dell'esistenza di una comunità.

La considerazione preliminare riguarda il rapporto tra analfabetismo e istruzione obbligatoria; la seconda è stata pensata ed attuata per combattere i mali rappresentati dal primo fenomeno e cioè dall'esistenza di persone prive degli strumenti indispensabili per quelle comunicazioni sociali che la rivoluzione industriale aveva reso tanto intense e indispensabili. Ecco perchè, in una prima fase, l'obbligo scolastico fu stabilito esclusivamente per la scuola elementare e nei limiti del "leggere, scrivere, far di conto", cioè per l'acquisizione degli strumenti che costituiscono il superamento dello stadio dell'analfabetismo. In un secondo tempo, dato per scontato (e in realtà non lo era) che la fase del superamento dell'analfabetismo fosse vittoriosamente conclusa, si pensò al prolungamento dell'istruzione obbligatoria in una scuola elementare allungata e, successivamente, in una scuola secondaria di grado inferiore per progettarne poi ora l'estensione alla scuola secondaria di grado superiore. Va sottolineato come le scansioni dell'obbligo scolastico seguirono la convinzione di poter estendere uniformemente l'istruzione alle varie fasi, psicologicamente definite, dell'età giovanile: la fanciullezza in un primo tempo, la preadolescenza in un secondo, l'adolescenza in un terzo, per pensare poi a scolarizzare tutti i cittadini, secondo i progetti più avanzati, fino al diciottesimo anno di età, cioè fino al momento in cui diventano cittadini a tutti gli effetti perchè viene attribuito loro il diritto di voto politico e amministrativo.

Al concetto dell'istruzione obbligatoria è stato, fin dagli inizi, accompagnato quello di scuola unica o unitaria. Se si trattava di scuola dell'obbligo, cioè di una scuola che doveva essere frequentata da tutti, senza eccezioni, non era pensabile ammettere al suo interno differenziazioni di ordinamenti, di programmi, di materie di studio. La scuola obbligatoria doveva dare una cultura identica ai suoi frequentanti perchè si riteneva che questa fosse la cultura necessaria, indispensabile per tutti e le differenziazioni avrebbero discriminato, fin da fasi di età premature, i più dotati rispetto ai meno dotati: questo, almeno, fino al 14° anno di età convergendo l'opinione generale sull'idea che, oltre quell'età, le differenziazioni, sia pure in un quadro sostanzialmente unitario, potevano e dovevano essere introdotte.

La situazione dell'attuale scuola dell'obbligo italiana (scuola elementare e scuola media) è stata più volte oggetto di analisi attente, di inchieste, di indagini dirette ad evidenziare tutti gli aspetti e, soprattutto, quelli giudicati negativamente. Da questo complesso di ricerche emergono alcune significative constatazioni delle quali non si può non tener conto e precisamente:

1. le ripetenze della stessa classe sono ancora numerose, soprattutto nella scuola media ma anche nella scuola elementare nonostante che i giudizi

siano affidati ad organi collegiali e le disposizioni in vigore prevedano situazioni di estrema gravità per la adozione del drastico provvedimento della negazione del passaggio alla classe superiore.

2. Il numero degli alunni che raggiunge il 15° anno di età senza aver conseguito la licenza media e viene pertanto, ope legis, "prosciolto" dall'obbligo, è pure ancora molto numeroso.
3. I compiti "orientativi" (e quindi tali da giustificare la non selettività e l'unicità) della scuola media non hanno trovato convincenti forme di attuazione.

Il fenomeno sul quale occorre soprattutto meditare è quello della non indifferente percentuale di giovani che non conseguono la licenza media, circa il 20% (se le nostre estrapolazioni sono esatte) di coloro che compiono il 15° anno di età. Il fenomeno è grave perchè il possesso della licenza media è titolo di studio conclusivo della scuola obbligatoria ed è pertanto tassativamente richiesto per i concorsi pubblici ai livelli esecutivi. Non è detto (vi è, anzi, da auspicare il contrario) che tutti i cittadini italiani debbano diventare impiegati dello Stato ma è indubbio che chi non possiede la licenza media ha un diritto in meno rispetto agli altri cittadini, quello di accedere agli impieghi statali e deve perciò necessariamente rivolgersi all'occupazione privata nella quale, in rapporto alla vigente legislazione sull'apprendistato, incontra, non avendo conseguito la licenza media, altre difficoltà.

Ci siamo chiesti più volte se è corretto che la legge ammetta il proscioglimento, al 15° anno di età e in carenza del conseguimento della licenza media, dall'obbligo scolastico, ed abbiamo sempre espresso le nostre perplessità su questa concessione che ci appare contraddditoria: se la legge ritiene che tutti i cittadini debbano raggiungere un determinato grado di istruzione non si vede per quali ragioni essa debba prosciogliere chi tale grado non ha raggiunto, soltanto perchè ha superato un certo limite di età. Si perpetua, in questa maniera, un fenomeno di "analfabetismo" perchè coloro che non hanno conseguito la licenza media finiscono per trovarsi, rispetto a quelli che l'hanno conseguita, nelle condizioni in cui si trovavano gli analfabeti rispetto a quelli che avevano imparato a leggere e scrivere. Il "proscioglimento" legalizzato viene così a costituire una sorta di alibi dello Stato e la dichiarazione della presunzione che ci saranno inevitabilmente soggetti destinati, per motivi diversi, a rimanere a un livello di istruzione inferiore a quella che lo Stato stesso, giudicandola obbligatoria, ritiene sia indispensabile alla formazione dell'uomo e del cittadino.

Non è un problema di poco conto perchè quel 20% che non assolve l'obbligo (che, probabilmente, si ridurrà in fase successiva perchè vi saranno giovani che otterranno la licenza successivamente, dopo aver compiuto i 15 anni del proscioglimento) rappresenta una sorta di "scarto", nel significato letterale della parola, dei cittadini italiani. In questa situazione giuridica l'istruzione obbligatoria rischia di avere il significato puramente formale della frequenza scolastica per otto anni prevista dalla Costituzione: se a tale frequenza non sarà accompagnato il reale raggiungimento del livello d'istruzione previsto per tutti, la scappatoia è quella del proscioglimento, dell'abbandono della scuola, dell'inserimento, se ciò è possibile, nel mondo del lavoro.

Lo "scarto" del 20% cui si è accennato sembra essere accolto come un fatto inevitabile, come l'elemento di maggiore evidenza di una situazione che non può essere modificata; la giustificazione viene ricercata nell'affermazione che non tutti (per ragioni molteplici e molto diverse tra loro, soggettive e oggettive) sono in grado di acquisire la cultura richiesta per il conseguimento della licenza media e che, di conseguenza, ci si deve arrendere di fronte a questa realtà. Tutti i provvedimenti che via via sono stati assunti nell'arco di un ventennio (scuole speciali, classi differenziali, classi di aggiornamento, ore di recupero, insegnanti di sostegno, ecc.) pare non abbiano ottenuto di modificare la situazione e ciò nonostante disposizioni tendenti a dettare in maniera meno rigida le modalità di valutazione degli alunni e il carattere unitario e colloquiale assegnato all'esame di licenza media.

Non tocca allo storico intervenire in un dibattito che ha coinvolto e coinvolge ancora pedagogisti, psicologi, sociologi; non tocca neppure allo storico, in sede di comparazione, illustrare la situazione di altri paesi in cui il fenomeno negativo sottolineato non si verifica o si verifica con rilievo molto minore perchè problemi come quello della frequenza della scuola obbligatoria e dei risultati da essa conseguiti hanno caratteri e radici ben diverse da uno Stato all'altro e non possono essere ridotti a denominatori comuni. Ma lo storico può avvertire come la prospettata prosecuzione dell'obbligo scolastico oltre gli attuali 14 anni di età può ulteriormente complicare le cose e provocare ulteriori danni perchè lo "scarto", prolungando gli anni dell'obbligo, sarebbe inevitabilmente destinato ad aumentare e ad assumere proporzioni ancor più preoccupanti e negative per l'intera organizzazione sociale.

Le osservazioni che si possono fare, oltre a quelle generali prospettate in precedenza, sull'attuale sistema sono le seguenti:

1. Esigenza di una migliore "assistenza" (il termine viene usato senza alcun riferimento a istanze caritative) da parte degli enti pubblici per gli alunni della scuola dell'obbligo per rimuovere "gli ostacoli di ordine economico e sociale" (come recita l'articolo 3 della costituzione repubblicana) che oggi rendono ancora difficile la frequenza di detta scuola e basta a questo proposito ricordare non soltanto il costo dei libri di testo che i sussidi coprono solo parzialmente, ma anche il costo di un più largo accesso alla lettura di libri e periodici e alle iniziative culturali nelle quali devono essere coinvolte tutte le famiglie perchè l'obbiettivo di fondo deve essere quello di creare nuovi spazi di cultura e di apprendimento all'interno delle famiglie evitando che, come capita ancora oggi, il ragazzo che studia sia isolato nei confronti di un ambito familiare che è del tutto estraneo alle difficoltà che egli deve affrontare.
2. Organizzazione di corsi permanenti per il conseguimento della licenza me-

dia anche dopo il 15° anno di età, come era stato fatto nell'ambito delle iniziative collegate alle cosidette "150 ore", nell'ambito delle scuole statali, con ordinamento e programmi particolari (non semplici corsi di preparazione agli esami di licenza media come fioriscono ancora in molte scuole private).

3. Eliminazione di qualsiasi deroga per l'ammissione ai corsi di istruzione professionale assegnati alle regioni di alunni che non abbiano conseguito la licenza di scuola media.
4. Elaborazione di *curricula* particolari, con l'eventuale svolgimento dei programmi in forme diversificate per gli alunni nei confronti dei quali sia motivato il ricorso a questo tipo di intervento.
5. *Last but not least* una maggiore e migliore attenzione rivolta al funzionamento delle attuali scuole dell'obbligo soprattutto sul piano della formazione, del reclutamento, dell'assunzione e dell'aggiornamento degli insegnanti, delle attrezzature didattiche e dell'edilizia ancora carenti. La scuola *a tempo pieno per tutti* rimane, a nostro avviso, l'obbiettivo valido per superare tutte le attuali difficoltà e per raggiungere quei risultati completi che l'attuale istruzione obbligatoria non è ancora in grado di offrire.

SUMMARY

In Italy compulsory education includes: primary and elementary school and the first three years of secondary school, concluding with a school leaving certificate.

Approximately twenty per cent of the students reach the age of fifteen without having obtained a school leaving certificate. Without this certificate students cannot take part in competitions for public employment and therefore they are obstructed in the working world.

As far as the State is concerned, the purpose of offering everyone a suitable minimum education is not accomplished.

The prospects of eliminating the present problems and contradictions are:

1. A wider and more accurate scolastic assistence.
2. The organisation of permanent courses to obtain the school leaving certificate after one's fifteenth birthday.
3. Prohibition of entering professional schools without a school leaving certificate.
4. Special curricula.
5. Full-time school attendance.

LA CONTINUITE SCOLAIRE ET "L'ECOLE DE BASE" EN ITALIE: ASPECTS HISTORIQUES ET PERSPECTIVES

Giovanni Genovesi

1. Les raisons historiques de la discontinuité scolaire

Le manque cronique d'une vraie programmation scolaire,ou mieux d'une vraie politique scolaire dans notre Pays,est à l'origine de la discontinuité de "l'école de base",c'est à dire de l'école de la maternelle au premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire,dont les articulations,nées à des époques différentes sous la poussée des circostances,n'ont jamais été ,même pas de nos jours,un sujet d'une réflexion sérieuse et organique.

Ainsi,l'école maternelle naît grâce à l'impulsion donnée par les forces libérales vers le processus de changement social à caractère d'entrepreneur et de collaboration entre les classes sociales qui donne voie à la phase du Risorgimento et caractérise,après,le climat politique de l'Italie unitaire.Bien que cela,toutefois,n'empêche pas - mais au contraire sous plusieurs aspects il favorise - l'abandon systématique à l'influence cléricale des initiatives d'éducation populaire,comme juste les écoles pour l'enfance,qui depuis 1830 jusqu'à 1848 avaient été un des meilleurs chevaux de bataille des libéraux.

De telle façon,l'école pour l'enfance,qui est l'objet de l'"incurie calculée" de l'Etat,aura sa reconnaissance seulement en 1968;une reconnaissance qui est le fruit des urgences sociales posées par l'industrialisation plutôt que de vrais critères pédagogiques.

Juste dans la période de la décadence la plus aiguë des "asiles de charité", naît l'école primaire à laquelle on assigne la tâche - du reste désespérée vu les prémisses établies (p.e.:la systématique inattention pour l'école enfantine,l'abandon de l'école primaire même aux mairies) par la loi constitutive (la Loi Casati du 13 Novembre 1859) - de l'homogénéisation culturelle des classes subalternes.

La loi Casati,en effet,assigne sans trop de convinction à l'instruction primaire la tâche d'une alphabétisation "réduite" de ces enfants qui ont atteint six ans et qu'on pense aptes à être soumis à un processus,bien qu'accéléré,de "coscientisation" nationale et de collaboration entre les classes sociales.

L'école unitaire du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire naît, directement, environ un siècle après l'unification,en tant qu'un produit d'un long travail historique et d'une âpre bataille politique qui commence au lendemain du deuxième après-guerre sur le problème de la précoce canalisation professionnelle en fonction de la différente extraction sociale.Une bataille qui,d'ailleurs,met à nu les fortes instances réactionnaires de la nouvelle-née République grâce à l'acharnée plaidoirie de plusieurs partis politiques d'une école "à double voie" qui invalide,de principe,la réalisation d'un vrai système formatif démocratique

En effet,il ne faut pas oublier que la précoce canalisation des jeunes dans le monde du travail n'a jamais été un signe d'élevée démocratie d'une nation ni,encore moins,de ses prononcées potentialités éducatives,mais seulement le sûr indice de son incapacité à ne pas céder aux contraintes des circostances et de sa volonté idéologiquement bien déterminée à faire un instrument du citoyen.

Ces bariolées modalités de constitution des trois écoles, bien que toutes prennent leur source d'une opiniâtre indifférence des gouvernements vers l'éducation "de base", sont, évidemment, à la racine même de l'incohérence des programmes d'enseignement promulgués de temps en temps, genre coup de bâton de l'aveugle, c'est à dire sans une perspective unificatrice et sans une vision globale des différents degrés scolaires.

Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, bien qu'on puisse se vanter des nouveaux programmes soit pour l'école du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire(1979)soit pour l'école primaire (1985) caractérisés d'une optique curriculaire unitaire, les "Orientations" pour l'école maternelle (1969) témoignent lourdement du décollement éducatif qui existe au niveau de l'école "de base".

Les solutions de"temps scolaire"sont, donc, très différentes, avec des projets didactiques non pas homogènes, c'est à dire avec de grands manques en ce qui concerne les possibilités de leur effective intégration.

Une telle situation n'est pas, certainement, le fruit de l'hasard, mais de l'incapacité et de la malveillance des forces qui ont exercé l'hégemonie dans notre Pays, qui ont dédaigné, pour tradition atavique, d'élaborer un projet éducatif pour un vrai développement culturel de tous les citoyens.

Dans ce contexte on a toujours laissé tomber même les propositions les plus suggestives et stimulantes pour une coordination rationnelle et démocratique de l'instruction "de base", de la plus vieille, dans les premières années unitaires (1865), de Giovanni Maria Bertini sur l'école secondaire unifiée, aux réflexions plus proches de nous que Gramsci avait élaborées pour la création d'une école de base unitaire en tant que lieu de développement des activités intellectuelles et manuelles dans la perspective d'un franchissement de la précoce canalisation des garçons du menu peuple ou vers le monde du travail ou vers les écoles de deuxième ordre.**(1)**

2. Le pénible *iter* de la continuité scolaire

Indépendemment des idées plutôt confuses au sujet du problème didactique, la réflexion de Gramsci sur la structure de cette école, partagée en deux degrés (le premier de 3/4 années et le deuxième de 5/6 années), est assez claire et, de toute façon, si suggestive qu'elle réussit à inspirer, au bout de trente ans, les critères généraux du projet de loi que, à la fin des années '50, le P.C.I. présente au Sénat, les premiers signataires Ambrogio Donini et Cesare Luporini, sur "Institution de l'école obligatoire d'Etat de 6 à 14 ans" (Projet du 21/1/1959).

Le projet, qui souligne fortement l'instance démocratique qui l'anime, en demandant l'institution d'une école qui ne submerge ni n'emprisonne dans un secteur préordonné d'activités la personnalité du garçon, prévoit un curriculum unitaire pour la période de 6 à 14 ans, centré surtout sur le "nouveau humanisme" fondé, à son tour, sur l'histoire humaine et naturelle.**(2)**

Lorsqu'on institue l'école unitaire du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire et que l'extension de l'obligation scolaire est en action, une réflexion globale sur le rôle et sur les finalités de l'école de base devient de plus en plus urgente.

Dans cette optique il est sans doute intéressant de rappeler la proposition de Roberto Mazzetti qui,en relevant l'opportunité d'avancer d'un an l'âge de l'obligation sur la base de l'homogénéité psychologique entre l'enfant d'école maternelle et celui du premier cycle élémentaire,avance l'hypothèse d'un cours initial de deux ans pour les enfants de 5 à 7 ans,suivi de deux cours de quatre ans,l'un d'école primaire et l'autre d'école du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire.

On prévoit,comme cela,une vraie organisation nouvelle de l'école de base selon un critère de continuité qui embrasse,à l'intérieur de l'instruction obligatoire,une partie de l'école maternelle,l'école primaire et l'école secondaire du premier cycle.(3)

Toutefois, les experts du secteur discutèrent la proposition-Mazzetti en centrant l'attention non pas tant sur ce dernier aspect,certainement le plus qualifiant,que sur sa partie initiale,c'est à dire celle qui concernait l'institution du cours de deux ans ,que quelques-uns montrèrent comme un moment de dangereuse scolarisation précoce (4),même s'il ne manqua pas des réflexions moins réductives comme,par exemple, celle de Bruno Ciari qui soulignait,juste,la décidée instance vers la continuité qui était exprimée dans la proposition de Mazzetti.(5)

Mais les années '60 sont plus mûres,grâce aussi à la forte pression des circostances, pour saisir encore une fois un seul aspect,bien qu'intéressant et urgent, du tableau proposé,c'est à dire l'aspect de la mise en valeur de l'école maternelle, même si à l'interieur d'une nouvelle structuration de l'école de base.

En outre,la jonction de ces deux derniers problèmes porte encore plus à mettre au point la question de l'avance scolaire.Cette question, explosée aux premières années '70 même à la suite des livres de Bruner,Doman,Pines et Sharp et,surtout,en fonction de son étroit lien avec d'importants problèmes de politique scolaire comme l'extension de l'instruction obligatoire et,par ricochet,de sa réorganisation.(6),n'est pas certainement dépourvue d'importance mais sans doute elle est fourvoyante si considérée par elle-même, c'est à dire détachée du plus large panorama du problème de la continuité.

Le problème de"l'avance-oui,l'avance-non"bloque l'attention de plusieurs pédagogistes (7),et des partis politiques mêmes (8). Toutefois,les propositions des uns et des autres finissent toujours pour aborder,même si indirectement,le problème de la continuité en fonction de la différente organisation prévue pour l'école de base et selon des prémisses "avancistes" ou "attentistes" qui les caractérisent.

Il est fatal,donc,que l'engagement à donner une réponse au problème de l'avance scolaire et surtout la tentative de la donner en prévoyant son organique disposition dans le contexte scolaire,porte encore plus au premier plan la question de fond où le problème même de l'avance se rattache,c'est à dire la question de la continuité.

Et en effet,pendant les années '80,cette question a été abordée de plus en plus ponctuellement soit dans la littérature pédagogique soit dans les projets des partis. En ce qui concerne ces derniers,la proposition la plus claire au sujet de la continuité est sans doute celle du PSI(Novembre 1981),pour la "Définition unitaire de l'école de base",selon laquelle la structure de cette école est organisée **ex novo** à travers l'institution de deux cycles initiaux de deux ans suivis de deux cycles de trois ans. Le début de l'obligation scolaire est établi à 5 ans et l'école maternelle,pour les enfants de 3 à 5 ans,est appelée " école d'état pour l'enfance" **(9)**

L'autre document où l'on aborde explicitement le problème de la continuité est celui que le sénateur Carlo Buzzi,le président de l'A.I.M.C. (Association Italienne des Maîtres Catholiques) présente en Avril 1983.Dans le projet,qui avance clairement le concept d' "école de base",l'on dit que "l'école maternelle et l'école primaire et l'école secondaire du premier cycle constituent un système scolaire unitaire de base finalisé à l'éducation fondamentale de l'homme et du citoyen.A ce but chacune des trois écoles est ordonnée pour assurer la continuité éducative surtout en ce qui concerne les programmes nationaux,la programmation éducative,les critères d'appréciation des élèves,les passages de l'une à l'autre école,l'organisation des services et la distribution territoriale". Le document, toutefois,ne prévoit pas une nouvelle organisation de l'école obligatoire.**(10)**

En ce qui concerne le monde pédagogique ,il faut dire que même les études sur les problèmes curriculaires encouragent l'attention vers l'unification des structures scolaires pour les mettre en mesure de donner à tous les usagers les nécessaires habiletés de base.**(11)**

Et dans cette optique il faut voir aussi sans doute positivement quelques normes juridiques qui tâchent de renforcer le processus d'unification de l'école de base, timidement prevu dans les décrets délégués mêmes (1974),comme celles qui sont contenues dans la loi 517/1977 au sujet des communes orientations méthodologique-didactiques pour le perfectionnement du corps enseignant,la programmation didactique, l'appréciement des élèves, les examens et l'integration des handicapés.

De toute façon,le document législatif le plus fort dans ce secteur est, certainement, bien que délayé par le ministre,la "Premessa" aux nouveaux programmes de l'école primaire. Toutefois il est aussi vrai que cette "Premessa" montre de lourds manques et de graves incertitudes en direction du discours de la continuité. Il suffit de penser soit à l'absence même de la diction "école de base" et à l'introduction du concept de "raccordement" qui semble limiter celui de "continuité", soit à l'absence d'une allusion bien que rapide à une nouvelle organisation des différentes écoles pour les élèves de 3 à 14 ans. Enfin,dans les nouveaux programmes,il n'y a pas du tout de référence au "système formatif" et donc à une utilisation des potentialités scolaires en interaction avec les ressources culturelles du territoire.**(12)**

C'est juste cette révision aussi inconsidérée qu'inopportune que le ministre P.I. a faite du texte élaboré par la Commission pour la réforme des Programmes de l'école primaire qui a mis encore plus en évidence la nécessité d'un engagement soit conceptuel soit pratique pour souligner l'importance de la continuité et pour indiquer l'urgence de sa solution à travers une réforme du système formatif de base.

Et déjà,par exemple,dans cette direction se mouvaient les projets de loi du PCI,en mai 1984 ("Réforme des structures et de l'organisation du système formatif de base") et du PSI,en juin de la même année ("Institution de l'école de base"),qui présente une proposition novatrice très intéressante.

Le projet du PSI prévoit,en effet,une école de base de dix ans ,articulée en une école de deux ans pour l'enfance,en une école préparatoire encore de deux ans,dans l'école primaire et dans l'école secondaire du premier cycle toutes les deux de trois ans Il avance l'hypothèse, comme du reste le projet du PCI même, de l' **"annalité- pont"**en tant qu'élément qualifiant la nouvelle organisation séquentielle des différentes écoles,dont la réalisation il faut expérimenter à travers une "gestion unitaire",confiée au Conseil de "Circolo"(l'équivalent du conseil d'Institut,au niveau d'école primaire) et d'Institut,qui doit intéresser au moins trois "circoli" didactiques(l'ensemble des classes d'école primaire dirigé par un directeur didactique) et trois écoles secondaire du premier cycle par province.**(13)**

Malheureusement,les propositions du document de la D.C. du mois de décembre 1984 et du projet de loi présenté par le ministre Falcucci en Avril 1985 sont décidément arriérées..Ce dernier document prévoit le maintien soit des actuels cycles didactiques et de la classe en tant qu' "unité base d'organisation de l'école primaire" soit du maître titulaire de "sa" classe,bien qu'aidé pour un tiers de son activité par un maître "adjoint" et il résout aussi grossièrement que superficiellement le problème de l'avance en faisant inscrire à la première classe les enfants "qui ont six ans accomplis au début de l'année scolaire ou qui les accomplissent d'ici le 31 mars successif". En ce qui concerne la question spécifique de la continuité,le projet de loi se limite à reproduire les critères avancés dans la "Premessa" aux nouveaux programmes de l'école primaire.**(14)**

Il n'y a rien d'étonnant,donc,que ce projet ait provoqué une levée de boucliers dans toutes les forces culturelles,non pas les dernières celles des milieux catholiques mêmes,comme l'on peut voir des articles parus sur la revue "Scuola Italiana Moderna" et des écrits du Président de l'AIMC,qui se montre aussi perplexe que défavorablement impressionné juste de l'accentué désintéressement du projet ministériel pour le problème de la continuité.**(15)**

Toutefois,si tout ce que nous avons dit nous prévient,d'une part,que la réalisation de la continuité de l'école de base n'est pas tout à fait sûre,de l'autre il témoigne que les spécialistes qui la souhaitent sont de plus en plus nombreux **(16)** et,en même temps,qu'il faut en préciser les contours conceptuels.C'est ce que nous tâcherons de faire dans la deuxième partie de ces notes.

3. Précisations théoriques et perspectives d'intervention

Le problème de la continuité est au centre du discours éducatif et en tant que tel l'on l'avait déjà considéré dès l'antiquité. En effet il n'y a pas de projets théoriques ou de réalisations de systèmes d'instruction qui soient dignes d'intérêt en fonction de leur influence historique,des hypothèses platoniques aux écoles des corporations du Moyen Age,des collèges des Jésuits,des Portroyalistes et des Piétistes et des "tentatives" de Pestalozzi aux réflexions systématiques de Comenius,Locke,Rousseau,des utopistes jusqu'à Devey et aux partisans mêmes de la descolarisation **(17)**,qui ne font pas de la continuité leur axe portant.

La continuité n'est donc pas un problème nouveau,soit au niveau théorique que pratique,dans ses trames constantes qu'il présente entre **"continuité verticale"** (les distinctions et les séquences des différents degrés scolaires,le choix calibré des manuels scolaires et d'autre matériel didactique,le recrutement "par contrat oblige" des maîtres pour assurer la continuité didactique,le raccordement de tout ce qu'on ensegnait avant avec ce qu'on entendait faire apprendre ensuite à travers des différentes stratégies didactiques comme la répétition,le résumé,les tables synoptiques, les schéma iconiques, etc.,l'attention à ne pas créer de cassures entre tout ce qu'on enseigne et ce qui est présenté par le contexte de vie,soit dans l'école soit hors de l'école,et,donc,un filtrage systématique qui porte jusqu'à la solution "séparatiste" du collège ou de l'isolement total comme dans l' "Emile",des situations sociales qui ,dans un certain sens,peuvent invalider une présentation efficace du "continuum d'expérience" désiré,etc.),et la **"continuité horizontale"**,c'est à dire l'interaction systématique,programmée avec les autres "agences" éducatives de la société.

Il est sur ces bases que le discours de l'éducation permanente et récurrente se rattache et qu'il prend sa forme en tant que possibilité continuelle du "système-groupe" et du "système-individu" de perfectionner son bagage instrumental et conceptuel pour l'adapter,le rendre de plus en plus fonctionnel aux nouvelles exigences qui s'insurgent constamment.

C'est exactement dans ce sens que la continuité agit en direction de la transformation en faisant appel à la capacité de l'individu de chercher sans relâche son identité que la continuité même a poussée.

Mais tout cela entraîne la claire conscience de quelques points fondamentaux comme: **1)la nécessité de cohérence en poursuivant les buts;2)la constance en les poursuivant;3)la cohérence entre les buts poursuivis et les moyens qu'on a trouvés pour les poursuivre.**

Et tout cela signifie qu'il faut soit être flexible en poursuivant les buts,en les articulant dans des objectifs intermédiaires par rapport aux moyens à disposition,soit choisir des moyens qui ne sont pas en désaccord avec les buts.

En d'autres termes,ceque nous avons dit signifie que l'efficacité de l'éducation se réalise dans une progression harmonieuse,cumulative,non pas par bonds,vu qu'à tout ce qui constitue un but éducatif,c'est à dire à tout ce qui vaut la peine d'être vécu,l'on peut préparer l'individu en excitant ses potentialités,ses "disponibilités" génétiques grâce à une orientation et à une sélection systématique,et donc sans solution de continuité,des variables du milieu ambiant vers " le point de fuite" désiré,c'est à dire le but qu'il faut atteindre,même si dans la nette conscience que ce but,dans sa formulation dernière, idéale,juste en tant qu'idéale,l'on ne pourra jamais l'atteindre pleinement.Sur tout cela se fonde l'éducation,qui"ne met rien dedans"à personne,mais elle "tire" ce qui est dans chacun,graduellement,avec cohérence,sans arrêt,enfin,avec continuité.

Donc,la nouveauté du problème de la continuité n'est pas certainement au niveau théorique,mais au niveau institutionnel et politique comme les annotations historiques de la première partie ont tâché de montrer.**(18)**

La malveillance d'en chercher une solution ou,de toute façon,de la différer a été et est à la base de l'autarcique manque d'efficience des différents degrés des écoles de notre même trop morcelé système scolaire.

En partant,donc,de la prémisse qu'il faut que tous les itinéraires scolaires éducativement efficaces soient fondés sur le concept de continuité,nous tâchons d'exposer synthétiquement quelques points nécessaires d'intervention.

1. **Il faut souligner fortement le concept d'"école de base"** en tant que celui qui permet d'éliminer le simple modèle de garde et d'assistence de l'école maternelle, qui porte effectivement l'école secondaire du premier cycle dans le domaine de l'enseignement obligatoire et qui,enfin,mieux permet l'adaptation à la progression psychologique et culturelle des usagers et qui réduit,enfin,les inégalités sociales et culturelles en éliminant les formes de sélection précoce.

2. **Il faut instituer l'unification juridique-administrative**,soit au niveau ministériel que décentralisé, et des normes juridiques qui concernent les interventions didactiques, la formation,le recrutement et le perfectionnement du corps enseignant ,en service ou moins, de l'école de base,c'est à dire de l'école que tout le monde doit fréquenter pour acquérir le "savoir" et le " savoir faire" essentiels.

3. **Il faut identifier un visage différencié pour les différentes parties d'un même corps**,c'est à dire pour les différents degrés d'école qui constituent le système formatif de base,en assignant à chacun d'eux des finalités spécifiques et,donc,autonomes,bien que étroitement liées au but commun.

Comme cela,même si dans la communauté de l'objectif final de l'augmentation harmonieuse,c'est à dire jointe aux différentes dimensions de la personnalité de l'individu,de la faculté de la raison,

a)l'**école maternelle** se qualifie en tant que moment d'arrangement des déséquilibres affectifs,de compensation des déficits sociaux, culturels et de connaissance et,donc,en tant qu'un guide propédeutique à l'abstraction;

b)l'**école primaire** se qualifie en tant qu'affinement des processus de connaissance à travers l'acquisition de l' "alphabétisation culturelle",c'est à dire de l'acquisition de tous les genres fondamentaux de language;

c) l'**école secondaire du premier cycle**,enfin,se qualifie en tant qu'engagement systématique pour atteindre une préparation culturelle qui embrasse une telle maîtrise des moyens tecniques et conceptuels qu'elle devient le fondement de l'éducation permanente et récurrente.

4. **Il faut caractériser des régularités communes** aux différents degrés scolaires, comme la "fondamentalité"(selon ce que nous avons dit aux points qui précèdent)la "généralité",c'est à dire l'extension à tout le monde,la "formativité",c'est à dire la mise au ban du hasard et du "spontanéisme", pour se confier, systématiquement,à des propositions formatives et,donc,programmées et organisées flexiblement selon le contexte et les situations où l'on agit.

5. **Il faut observer systématiquement les moments de différenciation** dans chaque phase et dans leurs points de "rotule",en intervenant pour obvier aux difficultés qui s'insurgent par l'institution d' "annalités-pont" et de "classes ouvertes" considérées en tant qu'une ramification du parcours vers une acquisition acceptable des différentes compétences prévues dans le curriculum.

6. **Il faut rythmer une continuité différenciée**,à travers des cycles qui correspondent aux "régularités communes" et aux points critiques,pour harmoniser la

progression institutionnelle avec celle individuelle **(19)**

7. **Il faut organiser l'école à "plein temps" ou à "long temps"**,aux classes ouvertes,aux instituteurs pluraux,aux bâtiments contigus,aux rencontres fréquentes des corps enseignants des différents degrés d'école pour tracer la programmation soit scolaire dans son sens propre soit d'interaction avec les ressources culturelles du territoire.

8. **Il faut tracer des curricula par des axes formatifs** (axe social, religieux,affectif) **et des axes cognitifs** (axe linguistique, historique, scientifique et artistique), articulés en aires thématiques pour le premier cycle **(3-8 ans)** et en aires disciplinaires pour le deuxième cycle **(8-13 ans)**.

9. **Il faut programmer des interventions éducatives à trois niveaux**:

a) au niveau éducatif,en coordonnant une constante intégration entre les axes formatifs et les axes cognitifs des élèves;

b) au niveau didactique,en organisant rationnellement les aires thématiques et disciplinaires par leur articulation en projets et unités didactiques **(20)**;

c) au niveau politique,par un décidé projet expérimental,un constant raccordement avec les Administrations locales,(Mairies,Provinces,Régions) l'augmentation des financements pour l'école,la formation universitaire du corps enseignant - articulée dans un premier cours de deux ans de commune direction scientifique et dans un deuxième cours,encore de deux ans ,diversifié soit en ce qui concerne les contenus que la recherche didactique pour les futurs instituteurs des trois degrés d'école -,un recrutement fondé surtout sur la vérification des capacités d'organiser scientifiquement le travail scolaire,un perfectionnement en service qui prévoit la participation active à des recherches scientifiques ,sur des problèmes émergés pendant le travail scolaire ,grâce aussi au "détachement"semestriel ou annuel déterminé par les collèges des instituteurs, l'administration de l'école et de l'université.

Une programmation politique,donc,de longue aleine et qui embrasse,en le réformant,tout le système scolaire et non pas seulement ses sous-systèmes. Mais,surtout,une programmation politique bien convaincue que l'éducation est une "affaire" de la collectivité et non pas privée. Un problème,donc,dont l'Etat doit s'intéresser extrêmement par des précises interventions de coordination pour la réalisation et le positif développement d'un système formatif public,organisé au niveau national,qui a ses fondements dans l'interaction entre l'école,soit publique (d'Etat,des Admnistrations Locales) que privée,et les "agences" formatives extra-scolaires,sans fléchissements aux nuisibles positions "néo-libéralistes" d'exaltation aussi inconsidérée qu'inconditionnelle de l'école privée et, par conséquent, d'appauvrissement de l'école d'Etat. Un appauvrissement qui, inévitablement,se répercuterait sur la limitation du pluralisme démocratique,le moyen et le but du discours éducatif même,que seulement une école publique, laïque, antidogmatique et antiautoritaire,c'est à dire libre des pressions des parts (et qui est maintenue telle juste grâce à la coordination et à la sauvegarde juridique et financière de l'Etat),peut garantir.

Comme l' on voit bien ,les points qualifiants pour un projet de solution du problème de la continuité sont nombreux et pas du tout marginaux. Et si la réflexion pédagogique, suivie de plus en plus souvent de quelques secteurs des forces culturelles et sociales, a déjà clairement acquis plusieurs de ces points,il ne faut pas oublier,comme nous avons tâché de montrer, bien qu'en synthèse, que notre tradition de gouvernement a été et est étrangère à tracer une politique scolaire digne de tel nom,c'est à dire selon les caractéristiques susdites et qui n'agisse,donc,pas sous la poussées des circostances, du hasard,de l'intervention de rapiècement et,de toute façon,avec la ferme convinction que l'école est le secteur où,plus que dans tous les autres,l'on peut se permettre le luxe d'être négligé et incompétent.

La solution du problème de la continuité,soit dans sa dimension verticale, celle d'une nouvelle organisation des différents degrés du système scolaire,qu' horizontale, celle qui est entendue à favoriser le développement unitaire et continu de l'enfant à travers la trame programmée des relations entre l'école,la famille et le territoire, devient le point fondamental pour l'avènement d'une école qui,bien consciente de ne pas satisfaire toute seule l'intervention éducative et,au contraire,de faire partie d'un "système formatif" bien plus large, veut devenir une véritable et systématique stimulation à la croissance de tous les citoyens et,donc,un véritable instrument de démocratie.

NOTES

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2.Cf.**La riforma della scuola media al Senato..Testi e documenti**, (Group Communiste du Sénat), Rome,1962,p.7
3.Cf. R.MAZZETTI,**Dewey e Bruner.Il processo educativo nella società industriale**, Rome, Armando,1964;**Don Milani e la ristrutturazione della scuola di base,** Naples, Morano, 1968;**La scuola materna e i suoi programmi**,Rome,Armando,1968;**Scuola materna e società degli adulti."I Nuovi Orientamenti"**, Rome,Armando,1969.Cf.,aussi G.CIVES, **La questione dell'anticipo a cinque anni**, en "Vita dell'Infanzia",n.1,1984.
4.Cf.le débat du 22 mars 1968 dans le cadre du "7 Febbraio Pedagogico Bolognese"en O.RIGHI, **Dall'asilo alla scuola dell'infanzia.Bologna 1840-1970**, Bologne,Cappelli,1979
5.Cf.B.CIARI,**Dentro e fuori il tempo pieno,** en "Riforma della Scuola",n.1,1968
6.Cf.J.BRUNER,**Verso una teoria dell'istruzione**, tr.it.,Rome,Armando,1969;**Dopo Dewey.Il processo di apprendimento nelle due culture**,tr.it.,Rome,Armando,1968;G.DOMAN,**Leggere a tre anni**, tr.it., Rome,Armando,1969;M.PINES,**Rivoluzione nell'apprendimento dalla nascita a sei anni,** tr.it.,Rome, Armando, 1972, E.SHARP,**Pensare a tre anni,** tr.it.,Rome, Armando, 1970.
7.Cf.,p.e.,pour les "avancistes":M.LAENG,**Una scuola elementare articolata in tre cicli biennali**, en "Scuola Italiana Moderna",n.13,1/4/1971;AA.VV.,**L'anticipazione scolastica**, en,"Scuola Materna", n.5,25/11/1978;F.FRABBONI,**Asilo nido e scuola materna**,Florence, La Nuova Italia,1980,et pour les "attentistes":A.AGAZZI,**Necessità della scuola materna per i bambini di cinque anni,** en "Scuola Italiana Moderna",n.13,1/4/1971;D.ORLANDO,**La psicologia extraeducativa**,en"Rassegna di Pedagogia", n.3/4,1969;M.MENCARELLI,**Una parola prudente**, en "Scuola Materna",n.12,25/3/1970; G.PETRACCHI, **Sulll'anticipazione dell' obbligo scolastico,** en"Scuola Italiana Moderna",n.14,1/4/1970
8.Cf.,p.e,les projets,de la fin des ans '70,du PRI,PSI,PSDI et du PCI.Cf.à ce propos: G.CHIOSSO, **Partiti e scuola in Italia;** en "Scuola e Didattica",n.15,1/5/1977;M.L.SARTI (éd.),**Dieci anni di scuola materna in Italia,** Rome,Ed.Lavoro,1979;F.FRABBONI,**L'anticipo scolastico**,en"Scuola

viva", suppl.a "Tuttoscuola",n.97,16/4/1980;F.R.FERRARESI,**Analisi dei progetti di riforma**, en"Scuola Democratica", n.3/4,1982.

9.Cf.,à ce propos,G.BINI,**Cambiare la base**, en "Riforma della scuola",n.5,1980 et F.R.FERRARESI, **Le nuove elementari secondo il PSI**, en"L'Educatore",n.23/6/1982.

10.Cf.C.BUZZI,**Per un sistema scolastico unitario di base:una proposta per il confronto**,en"Il Maestro" ,n.4/4/1983

11.Cf.,p. e,le point que sur le débat du curriculum fait R.LAPORTA,**L'idea del curriculo nella scuola e nella pedagogia italiana**, en AA.VV.,**Curriculo e scuola**, Rome,Ist.Enciclopedia Italiana,1978.

12.Cf.,à ce propos,F.FRABBONI,**Dal documento di medio termine al testo dei programmi**, en AA.VV.,*Il bambino della ragione*,Florence,La Nuova Italia,1984 et,**I nuovi programmi della scuola elementare,ovvero il miniGarder italiano**, en, E.CATARSI-F.FRABBONI (éd.),**Una scuola che c'è. L'elementare dall'utopia alla realtà**, Milan, Angeli,1985.

13.Le projet du PCI est la n.1650 (3/5/1984),celle-ci du PSI est le n.1875 (1 /6/1984).

14.Cf.**La proposta DC per la scuola.Documento varato dalla segreteria politica**,en"Il Popolo" (dossier spécial),7/12/1984 et **La riforma della scuola elementare nel disegno di legge Falcucci:una proposta deludente**,en "Scuola Italiana Moderna",n.11,1/3/1985.

15.Cf. soit l'art.cit. à la note 14,soit C.BUZZI,**Per un "sistema formativo di base" in una società democratica**, en "Il Maestro",n. 3/4,,1985

16.Nombreux pédagogistes catholiques et laiques conviennent sur ce front. Cfr,p.e.,: G.PETRACCHI, **La prospettiva dell'innovazione**,en C.SCURATI (éd.) *Curricolo e riforma della scuola primaria*, Brescia,La Scuola,1982;P.BETOLINI-F.FRABBONI,**Scuola primaria**,Florence,La Nuova Italia,1981

17.Il est superflu faire des renvois bibliographiques à ce propos,sauf pour les utopistes, pour lesquelles nous nous permettons de renvoyer à G.GENOVESI-T.TOMASI, **L'educazione nel paese che non c'è.Storia delle idee e delle istituzioni educative in utopia**,Naples,Liguori, 1985.

18.Pour un approfondissement systématique du discours dans cette direction Cf.: G.GENOVESI, **L'educazione prescolastica** ,en AA.VV.,*L'istruzione di base in Italia (1859-1977)*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1978;E.CATARSI-G.GENOVESI,**L'infanzia a scuola.L'educazione infantile in Italia dalle sale di custudia alla materna statale**,Bergame,Juvenilia,1985.

19.Cf.,à ce propos,le modèle proposé par F.FRABBONI,**Modello pedagogico e curriculo per la scuola elementare;dal tempo pieno al tempo lungo**, en AA.VV.,*L'innovazione della scuola elementare*, Florence,La Nuova Italia,1984

20.Pour les aspects en relation avec les points 7,8 et les paragraphes a) et b) du point 9 cf. F.FRABBONI-E.LODINI-M.MAININI,**La scuola di base a tempo lungo.Modelli, curriculo, contenuti**, Naples,Liguori,1984,partie I,et L.DOZZA-F.FRABBONI,**Programmare per unità e progetti didattici**, en "Ricerche Pedagogiche",n.74,1985

RESUME

Le manque cronique d'une vraie politique scolaire dans notre Pays est à l'origine de la discontinuité de "l'école de base"dont les articulations,nées à des époques différentes sous la poussée des circostances,n'ont jamais été le sujet d'une réflexion organique. Une telle situation n'est pas le fruit du hasard,mais de l'incapacité et de la malveillance de nos gouvernants à élaborer un projet éducatif pour un développement culturel de tous les citoyens. Ainsi, on a toujours laissé tomber même les propositions les plus suggestives pour une coordination rationnelle de l'instruction "de base"

Pendant les années '80, on a abordé le problème de la continuité de l'instruction "élémentaire" de plus en plus ponctuellement soit dans la littérature pédagogique soit dans les projets des partis. De toute façon,le document législatif le plus fort dans ce secteur est la "Premessa" aux nouveaux programmes de l'école primaire. Malheureusement,les propositions du projet de loi du ministre (Avril 1985) sont décidément arrierées. Le problème de la continuité, que la réflexion pédagogique a toujours considérée au centre du discours et de la pratique éducatifs,est nouveau seulement au niveau institutionnel. Et en effet,c'est seulement une politique de longue aleine et bien convaincue que l'éducation est une"affaire" de la collectivité et non pas privée, qui en peut tâcher la réalisation,soit dans sa dimension verticale qu'horizontale

FORMAZIONE GENERALE, ORIENTAMENTO PER GLI STUDI E/O PER LA PROFESSIONE NELL'ELEVAZIONE DELL'OBBLIGO SCOLASTICO AI 16 ANNI: LA QUESTIONE ITALIANA, OGGI

Vittorio Telmon

Il problema è vivo e presente nel clima politico italiano di questi giorni. La discussione al Senato del progetto di riforma dell'istruzione secondaria ha portato, nelle fasi conclusive dello scorso autunno, all'inclusione dell'affermazione per cui l'obbligo scolastico dovrebbe occupare il primo biennio di questo livello **di studi**, che di norma, attualmente, comprende gli alunni dai 14 ai 16 anni d'età. Nel novembre del 1985, nel clima delle manifestazioni studentesche per il rinnovamento della scuola, l'iniziativa dei socialisti si è dissociata dalla trama dei compromessi di una legge generale di riforma, che è stata accusata insieme di ambiguità e di eccessivi rinvii alla legislazione delegata. La discussione ricomincia da capo e, nonostante il disappunto di altre forze politiche, non può non tener conto della necessità di riferirsi anzitutto alla nuova proposta socialista, il cui articolo 1 recita: "Al fine di assicurare a tutti i giovani una organica formazione di base, corrispondente ad obiettivi sia di elevazione culturale, sia di orientamento scolastico e professionale, l'istruzione obbligatoria è prolungata a complessivi dieci anni a decorrere dall'anno scolastico 1987-88".

Quali saranno i risultati dell'iniziativa, che si inscrive in un non facile momento politico, non è detto si possa sapere prima dei fatti, che si attendono, con maggiore o minore fiducia. Certo sulle scelte politiche adeguate a risultati efficaci pendono così il passato come le pressioni e le aspettative della società presente, che occorre oltretutto interpretare, per prospettive che si muovono su problematiche complesse, toccando tradizioni e posizioni acquisite che non è facile rimuovere.

1. Sul piano storico pesa un relativo ritardo negli sviluppi dell'istruzione obbligatoria. La battaglia contro l'analfabetismo si è protratta fino a tempi recenti. Nei primi decenni dopo l'Unità, i governi della monarchia liberale non sono andati di fatto al di là dell'istruzione elementare nella legislazione sull'obbligo, anche se dall'inizio del secolo le rappresentanze popolari ottennero qualche soddisfazione limitata con la cosiddetta 'scuola popolare' e con la 'postelementare', istituzioni scolastiche a vicolo cieco e poggianti sul tronco della primaria. Dal 1923 compare la prospettiva dell'obbligo fino ai 14 anni; l'art. 34 della Costituzione Repubblicana (1947) recita: "La scuola è aperta a tutti. L'istruzione inferiore, impartita per almeno otto anni, è obbligatoria e gratuita". Si è trattato di proposizioni poco più che programmatiche fino alla istituzione della scuola media unica (1962/63) ed all'espansione della frequenza scolastica in questo livello (e nella secondaria in generale) negli anni '60 soprattutto. Si consideri il fatto che, come dal censimento del 1961 -ad un secolo dall'Unità -, i cittadini con titolo di studio superiore alle elementari erano ancora ben lontani dal 20%!

Non si può per altro ignorare la problematica relativa alle strutture della scuola dell'obbligo. Questa si è di fatto identificata con l'istituzione primaria (cioè con la scuola elementare) fino alla costituzione della scuola media unica, quando i corsi inferiori della secondaria (dal 1963) si sono 'staccati' dalle superiori e tendono ad avvicinarsi maggiormente alla scuola che precede, nei fini e - per certi versi - nei metodi. Di fatto la scuola dell'infanzia (dai 3 ai 6 anni) è restata fuori dall'obbligo, nonostante la ricchezza di significative esperienze e gli sviluppi imponenti della frequenza negli ultimi anni. Nonostante gli interessi della pedagogia per dare significato formativo a questa istituzione (la denominazione popolare-storica di 'asilo' sta a significare il prevalente scopo assistenziale con cui venne concepita volgarmente), solo nel 1923, dal punto di vista ufficiale, si comincia a parlare di 'scuola preparatoria', con tutti i possibili equivoci. **La Carta della Scuola** (1939) prevedeva, ma solo 'sulla carta', l'obbligo della prescuola dai 4 anni d'età. Di fatto l'istituzione di una scuola materna statale (con il 1968) tende ad impegnare il governo nazionale direttamente in questo settore, in precedenza diviso tra interventi delle organizzazioni cattoliche, delle amministrazioni locali e di qualche iniziativa privata 'laica'.

Ciononostante la scuola materna resta fuori dell'obbligo, anche se non sono mancate richieste (ed esperienze) per la realizzazione di una *scuola comprensiva*, in senso longitudinale, per l'integrazione, attorno alla scuola elementare, della materna stessa e/o della media dell'obbligo. Per altro non è abbandonata la proposta, mossa da più di un decennio, per l'inizio della scuola elementare(e conseguentemente dell'obbligo) ai 5 anni, concependo una nuova scansione della scuola di base, che dovrebbe iniziare da un biennio a mezza via tra metodi della materna e dell'elementare (come nell'*Infant School* inglese) e terminare con un triennio dai 10 ai 13 anni. Per altro le proposte di riforma della secondaria, che muovono sostanzialmente dal Convegno di Frascati (1970), hanno posto innanzi i temi della scansione dei momenti diversi di una secondaria riformata (2+3; 1+3+1; 1+4; 2+2+1), della difesa di una formazione comune (=area formativa comune), del rapporto con l'istruzione professionale (e in qualche modo della programmazione territoriale), infine dell'elevazione dell'obbligo, a 15 o a 16 anni, comprese le proposte di un 'ciclo corto' alternativo, dell'eventuale collaborazione tra completamento della formazione generale - presso le scuole pubbliche di Stato o presso le scuole private riconosciute - ed istruzione professionale, che in Italia è affidata alle Regioni.

Il tema relativo alle *strutture*, attuali o previste, rimanda al tema della *frequenza* di fatto o prevedibile. La realtà scolastica è essa stessa in movimento, con o senza riforma: la scuola secondaria è divenuta una scuola di massa, senza per altro diventare la scuola di tutti e per tutti, secondo l'ideale democratico. Alla scuola della promozione facile si contrappone la scuola seria, che promuove le capacità dell'allievo. Mentre le scuole elementari sono diventate praticamente le scuole frequentate da tutti i ragazzi in età, mentre lo scandalo di un terzo degli allievi di scuola media che non raggiungevano il titolo(di assolvimento efficace dell'obbligo, cioè la licenza media) viene gradualmente superato sia dei recuperi delle scuola dei lavoratori e degli adulti, sia dei progressi democratici dei metodi scolastici per quel livello di età, il primo biennio delle scuole secondarie resta in Italia l'area tipica delle riprovazioni e degli abbandoni.

Le ragioni di questo fenomeno sono diverse, ma non ultima fra queste deve essere considerata l'inadeguatezza delle strutture scolastiche, nel curricolo offerto, nella abitudine professionale prevalente presso gli educatori di questo livello di studi, Al significato reale che si attribuisce ai titoli di studio che sono proposti al termine del 1° ciclo (e dello stesso 2° ciclo) della secondaria superiore. Una recente inchiesta, che inizia dall'ipotesi per la quale il nuovo abbandono, figlio di una caduta di significato che dalla scuola passa alla persona nella sua globalità, "recuperi il valore del lavoro come alternativa alla scuola, e si ponga come nuova modalità di autorealizzazione", pure conclude: "L'importanza del titolo di studio nel nostro Paese è ancora tale che l'espulsione dal sistema scolastico di duecentomila persone ogni anno non può essere subita passivamente o esaltata come sintomo di accresciuta autocoscienza giovanile: anzi, la presenza in questa folla di piccole quote di *dropouts* volontari sottolinea ulteriormente la disfunzionalità del sistema".

2. Le prospettive di riforma, che si riferiscono essenzialmente al prolungamento dell'obbligo scolastico fino a comprendere 10 anni di scolarità, si richiamano all'iniziativa di partecipazione che coinvolge diversi settori della vita nazionale ed istituzioni diverse,chiamate a scegliere, a promuovere, a gestire i mutamenti necessari.

Si tratta anzitutto della *dimensione politica* del problema: le scelte, per quanto coinvolgano anzitutto, per gli interventi di legge(e le norme attuative), il Parlamento ed il Governo, non possono ignorare gli spazi che a livello periferico gli enti territoriali e le forze(e rappresentanze)sociali tuttavia potranno e dovranno gestire nell'attuazione concreta della riforma, ammesso che quêsta passi, come è sperabile, con significative indicazioni per una effettiva trasformazione. Si tratta poi, nelle direzioni della programmazione e della gestione periferica a livello territoriale, di una problematica di carat=

tere amministrativo, ove debbono essere stabiliti i compiti e le attribuzioni dello Stato, delle Regioni e degli Enti locali e territoriali, ove il problema della risistemazione delle sedi scolastiche si intreccia con quello dei rapporti di collaborazione con le istituzioni interessate (o delegate) all'istruzione professionale e all'educazione permanente (= extrascuola, educazione ricorrente, istituzioni di cultura, civiche ed a scopo ricreativo ecc.), all'orientamento scolastico-professionale, anche in relazione agli organi della cosiddetta 'gestione sociale' della scuola, alla necessità di concepire una maggiore possibilità di autonomia e di iniziativa per le singole sedi, rendendo più flessibile lo stato giuridico del docenti. Ancora: si tratta di promuovere un vero costume costante di dibattito culturale e di aggiornamento professionale per traguardi che si intendano proporre all'opera dei professori di questo livello scolastico, ove il problema dell'armonizzazione tra esiti professionali e culturali non escluda l'obiettivo di un'elevazione della formazione generale del cittadino, per una cultura motivante l'interesse dei giovani e tuttavia reattiva verso la banalità dell'adeguazione ai tempi. Infine: non si può dimenticare la componente sociale delle prospettive di riforma in questo livello dell'istruzione, che si collegano al diritto allo studio, all'orientamento, alle possibilità reali di occupazione, ad una certa corrispondenza alle aspettative dell'utente del servizio, una possibilità di integrazione con le proposte delle diverse 'agenzie' dell'educazione permanente.

3. Dove deve essere collocato il biennio di completamento dell'obbligo scolastico? Quale in esso il rapporto tra formazione generale (= area comune) e formazione specifica, ai fini del successivo curricolo scolastico o professionale? Come possono concepirsi i rapporti tra biennio di assolvimento dell'obbligo e

successivo triennio, tra biennio e formazione professionale?

La proposta d'iniziativa socialista, con cui è inevitabile un confronto, afferma, per quanto riguarda la collocazione del biennio:"Il corso di studi biennale...è attivato all'interno di tutte le scuole secondarie superiori previste dall'ordinamento vigente, e ne sostituisce i primi due anni. Ad esso si accede con la licenza di scuola media". La proposta corrisponde ad una scelta significativa rispetto alla stessa tradizione italiana come nei riguardi della riforma di tutto l'ordinamento dell'istruzione secondaria superiore. In effetti, oltre al carattere democratico della scelta, che associa l'età del compimento dell'obbligo con la gioventù impegnata a seguire i corsi triennali,corrispondenti alla tradizione degli istituti e dei licei, creandosi così una reale consistenza delle strutture ed una naturale motivazione alla frequenza presso la gioventù interessata, l'evitare di costituire il biennio come istituzione autonoma (nel qual caso essa si collegherebbe alla precedente scuola media, divenendone semplicemente una continuazione, oppure si porrebbe come asfittica istituzione d'incerta collocazione,consistenza e durata minime) significa di per sè una sollecitazione alla riforma dell'intero settore secondario: come infatti non prevedere, per ragioni diverse, una spinta alla risistemazione di tutti i corsi, quando sia modificato l'ordinamento ed il costume didattico del momento iniziale - e ciò indipendentemente dalla pur necessaria legge di riforma -?

La questione dell'ordinamento degli studi, nel documento di cui trattiamo, prevede, accanto a materie dell'area comune, materie di settore e pratica di laboratorio, connesse all'insegnamento delle materie. Riguardo all'articolazione del biennio,si prevedono, attraverso l'attivazione di almeno due di essi in ogni sede scolastica, cinque diversi corsi, così caratterizza=

ti: 1)delle arti; 2) umanistico; 3) delle scienze sociali e delle informazioni; 3) tecnologico-scientifico: 5) tecnologico-professionale. Quanto agli esiti, il documento di cui trattiamo prevede, per una valutazione interamente positiva al loro termine, un titolo valido sia per la continuazione degli studi nei successivi trienni, in un indirizzo di studi coerente con quello frequentato (o in indirizzo diverso previo superamento di apposite prove), oppure, per una valutazione parzialmente positiva, un credito formativo al fine dell'inserimento nei corsi o cicli di formazione professionale gestiti dalla Regioni, previsti dalla Legge-quadro in proposito n° 845 del 10 settembre 1978, e per l'eventuale rientro nel sistema scolastico.

La proposta di cui trattiamo, pur delegando il governo all'emanazione dei decreti-legge relativi ai contenuti ed ai criteri didattici del biennio, stabilisce che l'area comune (ove la pluralità delle componenti culturali non è detto debba corrispondere necessariamente a materie distinte) comprenda la storia e l'attività umana nelle sue manifestazioni contemporanee; e si articoli in lingua italiana, una lingua straniera, le linee essenziali delle letterature e delle arti, compresa la musica e lo spettacolo, la storia, compresa quella dei movimenti culturali e ideali, le scienze giuridiche, economiche e sociali, la matematica, la conoscenza scientifica dell'uomo, dell'ambiente e della natura, i moderni sistemi di informazione e comunicazione, le attività fisiche e sportive. L'intenzione è quella di insistere per una formazione pluricomprensiva del futuro cittadino, ove il peso dei contenuti non dovrebbe proporsi in senso negativo rispetto all'esigenza proclamata di formare personalità autonome. Per altro uno spazio è previsto anche al settore opzionale, che dovrebbe caratterizzare i singoli bienni.

Il discorso, al di là dell'approvazione di un consimile dise=

gno di legge, riguarda anzitutto la reale gestione della riforma, che chiama in causa i docenti e gli amministratori della scuola, ma anche gli Enti locali, le Regioni e tutte le forze e rappresentanze sociali interessate più o meno direttamente all'istituzione scuola.

Una nuova scuola si richiama ad una credibilità presso lo studente (e la società che si propone come utente del servizio), che corrispondere ad una cultura aggiornata, ad una professionalità che non può semplicemente richiamarsi ai suoi modelli storici. Vi è dunque un problema di aggiornamento dei docenti e degli amministratori della scuola.

Per altro va concepita una nuova geografia delle scuole nel territorio, che potrà anche tener conto di tradizioni significative, ma che dovrà rivedere i criteri di agibilità delle istituzioni per l'istruzione secondaria, tali da favorire la frequenza senza compromettere la vita ordinaria all'interno di sedi, che dovranno comprendere corsi diversi, programmati secondo le richieste e le esigenze in campo sociale, ma anche nella possibilità di ineragire proficuamente ai fini formativi.Le note differenze tra Nord e Sud dovranno essere prese in considerazione per una reale promozione civile e culturale del Paese nel suo complesso. E tuttavia non si potrà avviare una riforma della secondaria senza rendere effettiva l'autonomia delle singole scuole, la cui gestione richiede, anche sul piano amministrativo, almeno un margine di imprenditorialità, al di là dell'ordinaria amministrazione che deve salvaguardare i diritti di base dell'operatore e dell'utente. Un respiro maggiore con il mondo extrascolastico che pure interessa il giovane è necessario entri nel costume vivo di questo ordine di studi.

Il discorso essenziale, che costituisce la problematica di contesa più grave, riguarda tuttavia il proseguimento dell'ob=

bligo scolastico nei suoi rapporti con l'istruzione professionale, ed implicitamente con il tema delle qualifiche, dell'apprendistato, dei rientri, delle esperienze scuola-lavoro, dell'orientamento scolastico-professionale, dell'occupazione.

Introducendo un lavoro collaborativo su questo argomento, il direttore di una qualificata rivista così si esprime in proposito:"Occorre riconsiderare il rapporto della formazione professionale regionale da un lato con la scuola e dall'altro con l'impresa. Rispetto al primo di questi rapporti vi è anzitutto da auspicare che la *scuola* sia finalmente messa in grado di assolvere al suo compito primario, che consiste nel conferimento della *formazione culturale di base*, propedeutica a qualsiasi qualificazione professionale. Vi è un nucleo di capacità logico-matematiche, linguistiche, tecnico-scientifiche, vi sono alcune motivazioni e orientamenti comportamentali di fondo, che spetta alla scuola prefigurare e fornire. Essa potrà però fornirli solo se si realizzerà in modi adeguati quell'innalzamento della *formazione generale*, unitaria e obbligatoria, che rappresenta il primo e più urgente traguardo da conseguire nel processo di riforma della scuola secondaria... La *formazione professionale di primo livello* [in questo quadro] dovrà essere tenuta distinta dalla scuola di base obbligatoria, e situarsi di norma al termine di essa....Una funzione di *supplenza* della formazione professionale rispetto alla scuola dovrebbe in linea di pricnipio essere evitata, salvo che transitoriamente per casi di necessità...Ciò che sembra oggi essersi incrinata è la fiducia nel monopolio gestionale della Regione, che da un lato eviti di coinvolgere l'istituzione scolastica e dall'altro releghi in una posizione marginale l'impresa."

La discussione è aperta, presso le stesse Regioni, presso il mondo del lavoro; così l'interpretazione dei dati come le prospettive, pur non coincidendo, debbono tuttavia incontrarsi.

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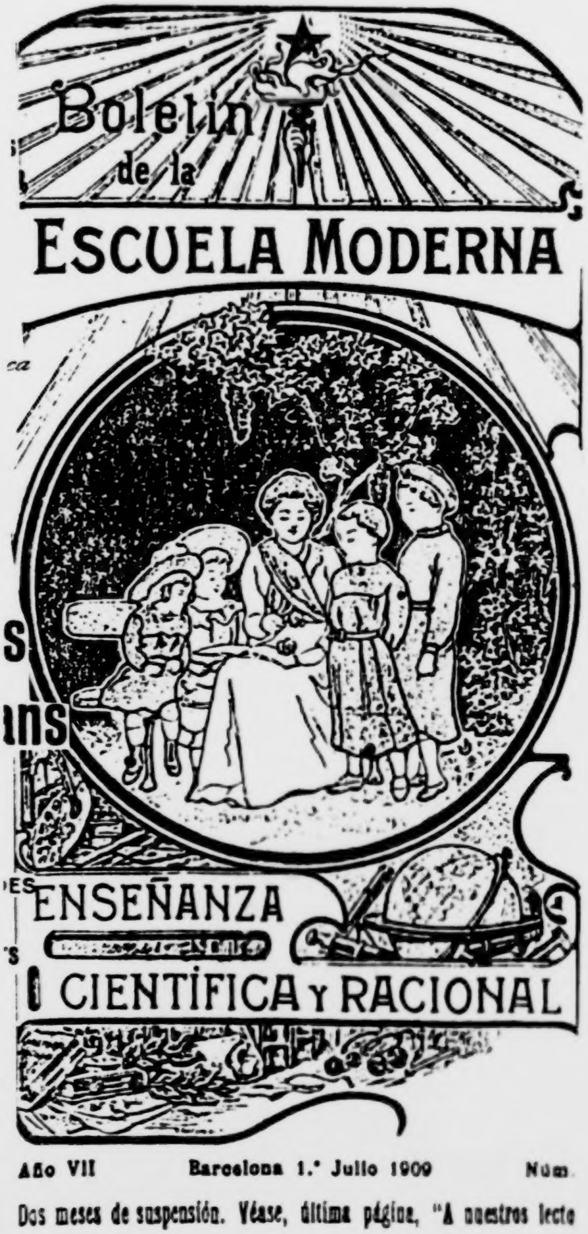
Per una considerazione della problematica generale sull'argomento, anche nelle sue componenti storiche, rimando a ricerche da me guidate o ad opere a cui ho collaborato: *Problemi e criteri per una scuola comprensiva*, Bologna, CLUEB, 1971; *Pedagogia*,Enc. a cura di R.Tisato, Feltrinelli-Fischer, Milano, 1974; *La scuola secondaria superiore*,Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1975; *Il sistema scolastico italiano*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1976; *Scuola ed extrascuola*, Napoli, Ferraro, 1980; Robinson e Thomas, *La scuola secondaria in Europa*, Firenze, La N.I., 1980; *La scuola secondaria:riforma, curricolo, sperimentazione*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1981; *Una scuola per l'adolescenza*(Vertecchi), FI, La N.I., 1983; *La scuola italiana verso il 2000*(Vertecchi), La N.I.1984; *La scuola Italiana dal 1945 al 1983*(Gattullo/Visalberghi),ib.'86.

Per l'attualità della discussione valgono tutte le riviste e periodici interessati all'istruzione professionale ed ai temi educativi e di politica scolastica; in riferimento alle pagine che precedono si veda in particolare:'Nuova scuola e politica', nº 8/9-1985; 'Annali d.P.I.', genn,febbr.1986; 'Scuola democratica', nº 3/4-1985; Ist.d.Enc.italiana, 'La doc.educative'21.

RESUME

Le problème de la continuation de la scolarité obligatoire jusqu'à seize ans est une question fondamentale pour la réforme de l'enseignement secondaire, cycle supérieur (lycées). La réforme, qu'on a projetée dès 1970, après l'unification des classes du collège (=media inferiore, 11-13 ans) dès 1963, n'est pas arrivée à ses conclusions. Les socialistes se sont dissociés du dernier projet approuvé par le Sénat de la Republique, pour la réforme générale des lycées et ont produit un projet de loi qui prévoit la scolarité obligatoire per un parcours de diz ans au total. Le problème de prolonger la scolarité obligatoire se relie à un héritage historique qui comprend les retards de l'alphabétisation et la récente pratique de la scolarité aux collèges et aux lycées par la masse des jeunes gens(et encore peu praticable pour une bonne partie de la jeunesse). La question des stru ctures scolastiques, pour lesquelles on a projeté aussi le début de la scolarité obligatoire à cinq ans et une école unitaire jusu'à treize ans, se relie donc à la question de la pratique réelle des cours d'études. Et encore: le projet de réforme se reporte obligatoirement, au délà de l'initiative politique, à questions qui regardent les champs de l'administration de l'école e des administrations locales,des problèmes de culture e sociaux. Mais surtout il s'agit d'établir un nouveau rapport entre école obligatoire et formation professionnelle, pour l'orientation des jeunes gens, pour les implications avec le monde des entreprises.



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Dos meses de suspensión. Véase, última página, "A nuestros lecte

FROM OPTIONAL TO COMPULSORY: THE INTRODUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION OF "ENGLISH" IN NORVEGIAN COMPULSORY EDUCATION

B. Brandtzaeg Gundem

INTRODUCTION

The general theme of the present conference is the introduction, development and extension of compulsory education in a historical context. In my paper I intend to look at the introduction, development and extension of the school subject English as part of the changing structure and curriculum of Norwegian compulsory education.

The paper is based on a research project concerned with the emergence and redefining of "English" as part of school reform and curriculum revision from the 1880's to the 1970's.1)

The main emphasis of the study is on the period between the passing of the Educational Innovation Act in 1954, and the Education Act of 1969 proclaiming the 9-year compulsory basic school.2)

Some questions pertinent to this period are:

- what part played the school subject "English" as part of and a means in the politically initiated and implemented educational reform
- what were the main societal, political, educational, linguistic and psychological influences
- through which national, Nordic and international channels (organizations, institutions, groups, persons) was influence exerted
- what were the main characteristics of the process leading to the changing and reformulating of the plan for the teaching and learning of English as part of the official curriculum.

For the purpose of the present paper, especially two questions seem of interest:

- what part played the school subject English in the development and extension of compulsory education - taking into account both the structure or organization and the curriculum of compulsory education and

- what were the main characteristics of the process leading to the inclusion of "English" as a compulsory subject for all pupils in the 9-year basic school.

And these two questions lead us to consider the role of the school subject English in connection with certain broad curriculum issues pertinent to the development of the compulsory 7-year common school as well as the compulsory 9-year basic school.

These broad curriculum issues are:

1. The introduction of a foreign language subject in the compulsory common school.
2. The establishment of the "unbroken" 7-year compulsory school.
3. The "unbroken" 7-year common school as "prepschool" for secondary education.
4. The striking inequalities between both the official and the real or experienced curriculum in the schools of the towns and the schools in the rural areas.
5. The "democratization" of the 7-year common school leading to the compulsory basic 9-year school.

The paper pursuing these themes covers a time span of more than eighty years.

The introduction of a foreign language subject in the compulsory school

The teaching of English as an optional subject in the Norwegian common school started in the 1870-80's on a wave of pragmatic utilitarian interest. The Norwegian shipping towns were booming. Arendal e.g. now a small of some 15 000 inhabitants was the third largest shipping town in the world. The need for certain skills in foreign languages and especailly English was apparent. The local school authorities along the coast found that it was not directly against the school legislation to introduce English as an optional, but open to all extra curriculum activity in the common school. Apparently the subject flourished. And the teaching was attended not only by the boys of the "lower classes" who knew they would be off for the sea on leaving school at 14, but also by the greater part of the girls who had more humble domestic or service work awaiting for them on finishing compulsory schooling.

In 1885 a National Commission was set up to further reforms and prepare for a new school legislation for the towns and rural areas alike.

It proposed not only to "legalize" the existing teaching of English, but also to further it as an optional extra curricular subject, especially in the schools of the towns, but also in the rural areas. The main justification was still pragmatic, stressing the needs of seamen and artisans, and the interests of trade and tourism. But also the benefits to secondary schooling if the pupils had some knowledge of a modern language beforehand, was introduced as an argument. And the Education Acts of 1889 introduced consequently a "foreign language subject" as an optional subject in the Norwegian common school.

The term "a foreign language subject" was symptomatic. According to the 1889 Education Acts, the local school authorities were free not only to introduce a foreign language in the local schools, but also to decide if it should be English or German. And after the Secondary School Education Act of 1896 German was the most important modern language.

The conflict was apparent. English was chosen in the interests of the common school itself, of most of its pupils and for the benefit of the larger community. If the advantage to secondary schools and to the fewer pupils continuing their schooling there were decisive, German would be preferred.

The circumstances leading to the introduction of a foreign language as a subject in the Norwegian common school reveal striking differences as compared to those of the other subjects. One need to grasp the reality behind these differences in order to understand the difficulties in implementation and lack of general acceptance, that were to come.

One argument for introducing the subject was that it already existed as part of the curriculum in certain schools - in fact a very disturbing situation in a highly centralized school system. Order was re-established by making the subject part of the official curriculum. This is in our country a unique instance of a locally planned, initiated and implemented curriculum course being brought into the official curriculum for the whole country. It is, however, significant that the main justification remained the same as the original one: a need for practical language skills. - Such competence was, however, of primary interest to the local communities where "English" first was introduced. It was barely of secondary interest to the population as a whole. Indeed, in certain parts of the country the needs of tourism and crafts indicated "German" instead of "English".

There were no moral overtones attached, as for the school subjects "religion" and "reading", nor the primary practical interest linked to arithmetic and handycraft, or the general enlightment desire that sponsored subjects like geography. The introduction of "English" represented a rupture with the relevant curriculum code of the compulsory common school - a code that Ulf Lundgren has described as a moral code.3) In doing so it gave room for competing influences to penetrate the common school, interests that may be ascribed to a different curriculum code - more characteristic of secondary schooling, a curriculum code that Lundgren would label "realistic".4)

No wonder that the subject found itself in a difficult and floating position. Implementation was slow and variable and the interest reluctant and lukewarm.

It was still the local school authorities who decided if the foreign language subject should be introduced or not and if it should be compulsory or optional, "German" or "English". Teaching took place outside ordinary teaching hours. In short, the subject was not an organic or inherent part of the common school, which existed in its own rights independent of the foreign language subject.

"English" and the unbroken 7-year compulsory school

What was to alter the immediate role and function and also the content of the school subject English in the Norwegian common school was not the need for practical language skills, nor the inherent qualities of the discipline, but the general development of the common school.

The egalitarian streak is very strong in the Norwegian society, and it is manifest not only in the rethoric of schooling, but also in its practice.

The ideal from the 1880's onward sponsored by the liberals first and later by the social-democrats has been the unbroken school where pupils are held together as long as possible and where no streaming or organisational differentiation takes place.

The immediate goal was the unbroken 7-year school, instead of a system where the "well to do" and possibly "brigther" pupils were transferred to secondary schools after class five and in this way breaking up the classes and the 7-year compulsory school.

The issue was at the core of all school policy debates and reports in the first two decades of this century. It was resolved by what has often been characterized as a "coup". In 1920 the Storting was taken by surprise and passed a law stating that only secondary schools building on the "unbroken" 7-year-school would receive state financial support. This law very effectively put an end to the old system and put into practice the 7-year unbroken school as the rule for all Norwegian children.

The "coup" took place at a time when commissions were planning a new organizations of elementary and secondary schooling. And it became an urgent need to make the upper classes in the common school fit for their new role as a preparatory school for secondary schooling. By now English was the main modern language in secondary education.5)

And the demand was for a teaching of English in class 6 and 7 equivalent to the standards of the teaching of English for beginners in secondary schools. The Education Act of 1936 made official this role of the school subject English in relation to secondary schooling, and a set curriculum was ascribed stating explicitly this end. From then on the school subject English, was in content and form basically in accordance with the interests of secondary schooling, and primarily intended for pupils going to secondary schools.

A main function: to serve as a selection agency for secondary schooling

By the end of the second world war "English" was still an optional subject as part of compulsory education even if by now the teaching of it took place within ordinary school hours. It could be made compulsory according to the local school authority's decision, but this was very rarely the case. It was also predominantly a "closed" subject open only to the pupils who were found "fit". A major problem became how to select the pupils who were allowed to attend the English course.

The end of the nineteenforties witnessed the blooming of American inspired test psychology and it became accepted that an I.Q. of 90 represented somehow a limit for the intellectual capacity required[6]. A special prognostic test was constructed[7]. The score on this test together with marks in "Norwegian" and "Mathematics" were the main entrance criteria. Written tests by the end of class 6 and in the course of class 7 made sure that pupils who failed to fulfill the requirements, were excluded. And the final exams by the end of class 7 guaranteed the standards set down by the secondary school requirements.

In this way the entrance ticket to secondary education became a passed course in English. The pupils had, of course, also to pass in Norwegian and Mathematics, but there was no streaming in these subjects.[8] And in this way selection to the teaching of English became a means to controlling access to secondary schooling - a role that contributed to yielding the subject a status and power very unlike the other subjects of the common school.

Inequalities between the curriculum in the schools of the towns and the schools of the rural areas

One of the main difficulties in the implementation of a compulsory common school giving equal opportunities, has in my country been the difference between the town schools and the schools of the rural areas. The difference has been both in quality and quantity - the hours of teaching being less and the quality of teaching different in the schools of the rural areas. The introduction of English as a school subject highlights the problem adding another dimension - that of access.

There were in Norway at this time two sets of school legislation for compulsory education: one for the towns, another for the rural areas. [9] Even if the set curriculum for English as a result of the Education Acts of 1936 was the same for the schools in the towns and in the countryside, there were strong overtones of "discrimination". For the towns the importance of the teaching of English was stressed especially in relation to secondary education. As regards the teaching of English in the rural area schools it is warned against its possibly damaging effects on other subjects. And it is stressed that time and effort put into that subject must not in any way make the normal curriculum suffer.

And there were of course many hindrances not only for the introduction and implementation of the optional subject English, but also for the implementation of schooling according to the prescriptions of the Education Acts of 1936. Scattered population, lack of communications on land and sea, scarcity of competent teachers and lack of financial resources, did not exactly further the interest of a foreign language subject.

According to statistical information from 1954, nearly a 100% of the towns but only 27% of the rural communities had by then introduced English as an optional subject. And in the towns 79% of the pupils completed the English course while this was the case for only 29% in the rural areas. And within the rural areas the geographic differences were striking. In certain communities in north-west Norway only 1% of the pupils completed the English course, compared to 75% in certain rural areas in southern Norway.

The democratization of the school subject English as part of compulsory education

The "unbroken" 7-year compulsory school for pupils up to the age of 14 in Norway is rather a unique phenomenon in Europe up to the 1950s. The idea of equality and justice through the postponement of choice and differentiation has been a non-controversial issue in Norwegian school politics. The elitistic element represented by "English" was, however, a sore thumb spoiling a much desired image. And after the war unrest was growing rapidly - starting within the ranks of the social-democratic party.10) Norway was like the other Nordic and European countries facing a period of long overdue school-reforms. To understand the role played by the school-subject English as part of and a means in these reforms it is necessary to understand the basic nature and aims of the reform. The aims have been defined as "the furthering of a democratic society in a social-democratic direction and giving equal opportunities".11)

In a situation like this one "English" in the common school was not only a blemish or scar, it was in reality a serious obstacle and hindrance for the democratization of the common school and for the furthering of the interests of a social-democratic society.

Compulsory English for everybody became the demand and it was supported by a growing awareness of the need for communicatice foreign language skills due to internationalization in all spheres.

It is however, worth noticing that the main official legitimation for "English for everybody" was not "the democratization of the Norwegian society in a social-democratic direction", but the necessity for practical language skills. In the coming period of debate and innovation concerning English in the common and basic school this political and ideological aspect was seldom brought into focus. The main justification is of a pragmatic kind even if the ideological aspects of equality and equal opportunities was a strong element underpinning the innovation programs for a teaching of English for all pupils that started from 1954 onwards.

The Education Act of 1959 made "English" compulsory for all pupils if the subject is introduced in the curriculum. And when the 1969 Education Act established the 9-year basic school, the undifferentiated six years course now in operation for all pupils, was a fact.

Conclusion

I have in my paper tried to show how the introduction, development and extension of English as a school subject in compulsory education was in spesific ways linked to the development and extension of compulsory education itself.

In my opinion "English" played a more decisive part than any other school subject to secure and implement organizational and curricular reforms directly geared towards the extension of compulsory education in my country.

Especially two events were major: The school subject English made possible the "unbroken" 7-year common school already from the 1920s and the inclusion of a foreign language subject as part of the compulsory curriculum of the basic school by the Education Act of 1969.

And the last one signified the final realization of the school subject English as an integral part of compulsory education in Norway.

Notes and references

1. Educational reform through the changing of a school subject, Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo. Supported by the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, NAVF.

2. Several studies have been undertaken as part of the project
   a) A survey of the main features of the emergence of the school subject English in the common school from the 1880s to 1954.

   b) An account of the experimental innovation programs and projects in the common school from 1955 onwards.

   c) A description of the theoretical climate of foreign language teaching in the fifties and the early sixties from a linguistic, language learning and educational perspective including an account of the influence exerted by organizations and institutions like the British Council (including the work of the British consultants attached to the Ministry of Education), the association of Teachers of English etc.

   d) An account of the rapid development from the mid-sixties till the midseventies with its influencing forces and agents like the Council of Europe, the Council for Innovation in Education etc. and study of the practice of curriculum development and change resulting in the English course of study in the **Mønsterplan** (1971, 1974).

The present paper is mainly based on the first report: 'A school subject called 'English' (January 1985).

3. Ulf P. Lundgren, Att organisera omvärlden, Stockholm, 1979.

4. Ibid.

5. The 1935 Secondary School Education Act.

6. The newly established (1936) Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo under the direction of professor Johs. Sandven from 1950 made adaptation of American tests possible.

7. Hans-Jørgen Dokka, Språktest for 5. klasse, Oslo 1951.

8. In the rural areas there existed some few centrally located secondary schools not having a foreign language prerequisite.

9. The first "joint" Education Act is from 1957.

10. In 1952 appeared the Labour Party's "The School Long Term Programme" and compulsory English was one of the main issues.
(Langtidsprogram for skolen, Det norske arbeiderparti, 1952).

11. The quotation is from the Information Journal of the Swedish School Authorities, May 1974. (Aktuelt från Skolöverstyrelsen, Specialnummer maj 1974).

RESUME

Cet exposé rend compte d'un projet de recherche traitant de l'apparition et de la redéfinition de l'anglais comme matière d'enseignement lors des réformes scolaires et modifications de programmes intervenues entre les années 1880 et 1970.

Il a pour thème l'introduction, le développement et la généralisation de cette matière au sein des structures et programmes d l'école obligatoire norvégienne.

Deux questions méritent particulièrement l'attention: quel rôle l'anglais en tant que matière d'enseignement a-t-il joué dans le dévelopment et la généralisation de la scolarité obligatoire et quelles ont été les caractéristiques du processus qui devait aboutir à en faire une discipline obligatoire pour tous les élèves? Le rôle de cet enseignement sera en conséquence examiné en liaison avec plusieurs importantes étapes de l'histoire éducative:

1. Circonstances ayant conduit à l'introduction d'une langue étrangère dans l'enseignement de l'école primaire.
2. Création de l'école primaire obligatoire "ininterrompue" de 7 ans.
3. Rôle de cette école de 7 ans en tant que préparation à l'enseignement secondaire.
4. Flagrantes inégalités entre les programmes obligatoires dans les écoles des villes et celles des régions rurales.
5. "Démocratisation" de l'école de 7 ans aboutissant à la création de l'école de base obligatoire de 9 ans.

L'examen de ces différents thèmes s'étend sur une période de plus de 80 ans, commencant dans les années 1870 où le besoin d'une connaissance pratique de l'anglais se fit fortement ressentir dans les ports de commerce de la côte norvégienne et poussa les authorités scolaires locales à introduire cette langue comme matière hors programme, facultative, mais accessible à tous les éleves intéressés. La législation scolaire reflétant peu à peu des intérêts de plus en plus diversifiés, l'objectif majeur recherché à la fin du siécle était une connaissance à la fois pratique et théorique de l'anglais. Dans l'école publique "ininterrompue" de 7 ans, créée par un "coup" en 1920, l'anglais constituait la pierre angulaire, sa principale fonction étant d'opérer une sélection pour l'entrée dans l'enseignement secondaire. Les statistiques du début des années 1950 montrent des inégalités flagrantes quant aux possibilités d'accès à l'enseignement de l'anglais et donc à l'enseignement secondaire. Une telle situation, considérée inacceptable dans un pays démocratique, devait entraîner un profond mécontentement politique et "l'anglais obligatoire pour tous" devint le mot d'ordre. La Loi sur l'enseignement de 1959 le rendit obligatoire pour tous quand il était introduit dans les programmes et celle de 1969 qui instaura l'école de base obligatoire de 9 ans stipula que l'anglais serait enseigné de manière indifférenciée à tous les élèves pendant 6 ans.

En conclusion, il peut être affirmé que l'anglais davantage qu'aucune autre matière d'enseignement a contribué de manière décisive à la mise en oeuvre de réformes aboutissant directement à la généralisation de l'enseignement obligatoire en Norvège.

REFORMS AND NEW TENDENCIES: NORVEGIAN COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Olav Sunnanå

Compulsory education has a long tradition in the Norwegian schoolsystem, and reforms have taken place from time to time through the centuries. Apart from the establisment of the "learned schools" there was no organized teaching in Norway till some time after the Reformation.

The need for elementary education arose among the people as the Bible was made available to everybody. The Church made the first attempts to introduce education in reading for the common people during the first centuries after the Reformation. The introduction of Confirmation in Norway in 1736, however, is the basis of the Norwegian primary education system.

By a royal ordinance of 1739 an endeavour was made to establish a permanent school for each church parish, and to introduce general compulsory school attendance. Although these regulations were never repealed, the effect of the measures was very limited on account of the lack of teachers, the scattered population, and the long distances. Another ordinance of 1741 therefore, left it to the parishes and the magistrates to arrange their school affairs according to the opportunities and the local situation.

Neverthelesss the ordinance of 1739 established basic principles on which all later.

Norwegian schoollegislation has built. In accordance with the wording and the spirit of the ordinance it has become the right and the duty of the State to take the initiative in the field of education, to make school attendance compulsory for all educable children, and to impose on the municipalities the provision of schools for the children of the community.

After the ordinance the children should be in the compulsory official school if they did not get sufficiently education in the other ways. The compulsory school time every year schould be at least 3 months in 3 years, from 7 to 19 years of age. But if they in this time did not get the sufficient education and knowledge of religion, they should be in the school in one or two more years. Later the children also should go to school one or two times a week in winter time until they were confirmed in religion.

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school in one or two more years. Later the children also should go to school one or two times a week in winter time until they were confirmed in religion.

In every community there should be so many teachers as needed after the meaning of bishop and official authorities and country leaders. Where as many as 30 pupils could be assembled there should be a school building with education and teachers after special regulations, the socalled industrial schools at different places in the country. Many of the reformregulations in thistime were purpusful aims of education and at many districts it could be difficult to go ahead with the aims of school legislation.

After the dissolution of the union with Denmark in 1814 arrangements were made for rural elementary schools by an act of 1827. By this act there was to be a permanent school near every principalchurch in the country. Otherwise arrangements were to be made ambulatory schools. Pursuant to this act the clergy were still to a certain extent in charge of the elementary compulsory schools in the countryside. The subjects taught besides reading and writing were therefore mostly of a religious nature.

The development of a primary school system in towns has a somewhat different basis. Children who did not attend the "learned schools" were offered the opportunity of schooling in institutions called "free schools" run either by a clergyman or by funs made available by endowments. A considerable improvment in primary education in towns was made by the act of 1848, which systematized primary instruction and introduced compulsory education for all children from the age of seven to confirmation.

The act of 1827 on primary education in rural areas was replaced in 1860 by a new act which enjoined the establisment of permanent schools in every school district. Reforms by this act were several lay subjects such as history, geography and natural science brought into the curriculum. This act introduced in every municipality an elected local school-board which, on a democratic basis, was in charge of the local school-system. The act fixed the minimum of hours for instruction, improved the conditions and the training of the teachers and above all improved the management and supervision of the primary school system in rural areas, through the establisment of regional school-directorchips. By this law regional school directors were to be appointed to serve as supervisors of the primary school system. Last year in 1985 the 125 years-celebration of the school-directorship was taking place.

The act of 1848 on primary education in towns and the act of 1860 on primary education in the country are now regarded as the framework of primary education of today. On the basis of these two acts primary education made rapid progress. As a matter of fact, the development of primary education during the 25 years after the introduction of the act of 1860 was so rapid that new acts had to be passed in 1889. By these acts for rural areas and another for towns, the compulsory courses were extended, additional subjects were included in the curriculum, and an immense improvement af school premises equipmeny was brought about.

Since 1889 compulsory school attendance at the primary level has been seven years. All normal children are obliged to begin school in the year in which they reach their seventh birthday.
After the law of 1889 the local community should be administring the compulsory schools in the community. The whole people in the community should be responsible for the school. The school should give the children a Christian and moral education as the general education which would be of use for the individual children.

The laws of compulsory education from 1889 were standing until 1936 with different changes from time to time. Nevertheless in 1915 for the rural schools and 1908/1917 for the townschools the compulsory school time was increased and the practical subjects got a more outstanding place in the general education. Drawing was compulsory subject in the rural schools and physical training for boys in all schools with classdifferentations. All education in the town schools should be in the day-time.

An important reform-question was the unity school-system and its legal basi
One of the ideas behind the new act for secondary general education of 1896 was to connect the primary compulsory schools with the secondary schools in

such a way that a complete primary education could be the basis of all schools for further education. The first steps taken by that act opened the way for other efforts towards this goal. As this idea of reform, however, involved a reorganization of many aspects of the national school-system, it turned out that a certain maturing-period was necessary before new reforms could be carried through.

Several educators worked at the problem, and commissions were appointed to find a solution that all political parties could agree to. In 1921 the Storting (Parliament) adapted regulations concerning State contributions to the secondary schools to the effect that no pupils should be allotted to a middle-school(secondary school) which was not based upon a seven years course at the elementary compulsory schools.

Following this first measure towards the unity school system, a parliamentary school commission was appointed to report on the further development of the nations school-system for general education. The recommendation of this commission together with dissertations of outstanding education became the basis of the new school acts passed by the Storting in the thirties.

By these acts the unity school system was adopted as the basic principle of the Norwegian educational system. The reforms laid down in these acts not only established new organizational forms but also introduced new methods of teaching. The activity-principle, the work-school from Germany with Georg Kerschensteiner and Hugo Gaudig and reform-education from other European countries and The United States of America with John Dewey and other educational reformers were well known in Norway at a far earlier date, but by the new acts this principle of teaching was to be applied in the unity school.

The "Normal-plans" for education in the compulsory school were applied to the activity-principle of education both in the classroom-teaching and in groups and individual work. The new plans gradualy caused reforms of the methods of education in the compulsory school adapted to more free working methods and higher claims to the indepedent work with the subjects.

The 1936-education act of the rural schools gave more place to homework and practical subjects physical education and handcraft were compulsory subjects in the last part of the school-course English and housekeeping also were in the subejcts, but these were not compulsory. In both laws these were regulations of health control, free dentist-care and contributions to free school material for the pupils. It should no longer be body-punishment in the school. The state should give contributions to health-control, dentist-care and transport to the schools.

The laws for the compulsory schools should be accomplished from July 1. 1937, for the rural schools however it should be a respite of 5 years of full accomplishment of the most expensive reforms, particuler increased school-time and the new practical subejcts.
The normal plans of teaching from 1939 be in use the same year as the second World War came on. The war-time till 1945 and the economic difficulties afterwards caused a long delay of the accomplishment of the new laws for the compulsory school both in the towns in in rural areas. After the war-time it was great work to build up what was destroyd in the war when it was so difficult to go along with school-reforms.

The Norwegian political parties after the war were making a common program for all parties concerning what they all were agreeing of reforms because of the war-time. Among the points of restorment the school-system also should be among the important political tasks. A school-commission, the socalled "Samordningsnemnda for skoleverket" from 1947 should coordinate the reformplans for the future of the Norwegian school-system. In the 1950-years the documents of the school-commission were sources of reformplans of the different parts of the school-system.

To promote experiments and reforms of education the Storting in 1954 passed a new act on experiments in schools. The intention of this act which was valid from 1955, was that the Norwegian educational system should by means of experiments in all categories of schools, be in continuous reform in order to cope with the development of society which education at the different areas is intended to serve and be a part of the common life.

In accordance with these laws a series of regulations has been adapted by the King in Council or issued by the Ministry of Education. Such regulations contain specific provisions concerning admittance to the school school-fees, discipline, the pupils, the teachers and the headmasters, the teachers-council, the management-committee, examinations, Testimonials etc. During recent years there has been a tendency to pass laws laying down the structural frame and the main principles of the teaching and work in the schools concerned, and to leave the details to the regulations.

This has been found to be the most practical means of adapting the schools to the development of society. The procedure of amending a law was much more complicated and time-consuming than be amendment of regulations adpated by the King in Council or issued by the Ministry. Before such amendments were made the advisory councils were always heard. In most cases the demand for revision originated in the council concerned, and the Ministry was asked to carry through amendments for the sake of improving education.

The Council of Innovation had 9 members, a leader and a secretary which had the administration of the innovation in schools all over the country. The Council had the inspection of the innovation-schools and had the preparation of the new school-laws of the different parts of the school-system in the 1960-70 years. The Council of Innovation was at work till 1985 when Stortinget decided that the work of the Council should come to an end. The Council had the responsibility for many of the reforms and new tendencies in Norwegian compulsory education in the 1960-70 years.

The Council was also preparing the new law of the primary compulsory education from the April 10. 1959 which the Stortinget decided. This law led to a series of reforms in the compulsory school both in education, school-time and administration. The foundation was laid for the following reforms of the primary education in accordance with the demands, and innovation of the education in this time.

After this law new subjects were compulsory in the primary school, home-knowledge and handwork in all schools. English should be tought from the 4. or 5. years of the school-time. New subject-groups were organized, thus handwork, writing, drawing were grouped in formgiving and history, geography society-knowledge in the group of community-learning.

The 1959-schoollaw did not introduce the 9-years unity-school as compulsory school for all pupils. But the community could after agreement with the Ministry make the decision of compulsory unity school for the pupils in the district. For the education the Ministry published the: "Learning-plan of innovation in 9 years school".

In 1963 Ministry found that it was time to begin the preparation of a new law for 9 years compulsory education. A committee was appointed for this purpose: The primary school-committee of 1963. The main-point of the mandate of the committee was to prepare a new law of 9 years compulsory education as an school-order for the whole country with the rules which were necessary for a transition-order with 7 years school. The nomination of the committee followed in 1965. This nomination was discussed in propasals from the Ministry to the Stortinget where the nomination was debated with the result of Law of primary school of Juin 13. 1969. The learning plan for 9 years compulsory primary school followed in 1974. Equal other Norwegian school-laws in the time after the war it was soon characterised as amendment -law or authority-law. The decision was leaved to the Ministry, so that the Ministry had the responsibility to work out a new learningplan, new regulations and new instructions and there give nearer decision how may important questions should be solved. But this did not prevent that the law of 1969 contemporary was a tendency to decentralize the responsibility of the compulsory 9 years school.

The Ministry should do its decisions so that both the single community, the school and the class, pupils and teachers, got the freedom to self-government within a realtively wide frame. In general the time of compulsory education should be 9 years for the pupils. The law had the aim to educate the pupils to give them a good start of their life, to promote civilization and help the pupils in their growth and development.

The 9 years compulsory school should be divided in two main divisions, the division of the child from 1.-6. class and the division of the youth from 7.-9. class. There could be both small and larger schools at the different levels and districts. The class could be divided into groups of education in different subejcts. The community school-administration should have the responsibility of the compulsory education in the district. In general the schools have a director and there should be a school-council and a teachers council, a council of parents and a selection of administration of the school. The school should also have a council of the pupils and there should be common meetings of the pupils and parents, a a cooperative commission of the different councils.

In the counties there should be a school-director and an administrative chief of the country school-administration. There should be right for the language minorities to use their language so of the lap ministry in the North of Norway. For the two official languages, the book-language (bokmål) an new Norwegian (nynorsk) and the education in these language forms there should be special directions for the language-education.

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SUMMARY

To promote experiments and reforms of education the Storting in 1954 passed a new act on experiments in schools. The intention of this act which was valid from 1955, was that the Norwegian educational system should by means of experiments in all categories of schools, be in continuous reform in order to cope with the development of society which education at the different areas is intended to serve and be a part of the common life.

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE CANARY ISLANDS

Pedro Sosa Also

INTRODUCTION

The Canary Islands have presented great difficulties in modern times for general schooling; total schooling within primary education (Basic General Education or E.G.B.) was only achieved during the 1983-1984 academic year - the main reasons for this situation are due first to the lowering of the rate of schooling, after the decrease of the birth rate which started in the sixties, and to the effort which the Canarian Autonomic Government has made in these past years, in a moment in which the economic crisis also paralized its high inflation rate (1).

This reality must be taken into account when one analyzes what compulsory education has meant in our Islands, where it not only constitutes a political programme or a liberal idea, but an economic, political, and social struggle. Our Autonomic Community may possibly be the most extreme case in our nation, fundamentally for geographic amd historical reasons; but nevertheless today, though presenting the highest index of illiteracy, it is situated within the middle bracket of the educational problems of the country.

Nearly two centuries have passed - since the Cadiz Parliament of 1812 - after the initial attempt to introduce a compulsory and free primary education. When this aim had been achieved in Europe by the end of the last century, Spain was still on its way to this goal: at the beginning of this century its population was 50% illiterate and in the Canaries the rate was between 80% and 90%. The efforts which commenced at the turn of the century were curtailed by the Civil War in 1936, which introduced an anachronic dictatorship with an inflexible educational system, but the tourist boom achieved, in an unusual way in a dictatorship, the economic development of our country. It is precisely during the seventies when our educational system begins to be modernized.

It is not easy to obtain feasible results judging from the bibliography which we have found and used, because trusting only the statistical data does not tell us much, as no study has been carried out on early school-leaving and failure at the start of the century.

This study attempts to analyze compulsory education from the point of view of the social, historical, and economic reality of our Islands, as it is within the moments of political and economic, and thus social, change, when we may better observe important differences in the implementation of a compulsory-education programme, in the struggle against illiteracy, etc.

The reason for studying it in this manner is mainly due to a fundamental cause: the achievement of total schooling has not solved the problems of our educational system; at the moment, the rate of educational failure in the second level of E.G.B. primary education is very high, reaching alarming rates within secondary education.

1) PRIMARY EDUCATION THROUGHOUT HISTORY

Primary education in the Canaries was more advanced in Las Palmas, according to some authors (2), than in Tenerife, specially at the beginning of the century. These understaffed schools, lacking qualified teachers, - and those existing being badly paid -, followe the official model, with the exception of the private ones, which offered their own peculiarities in each island and area.

Most historians point to La Orotava as the pioneer in the renewal of the educational system. It was precisely in 1824 when the Orotava Polytechnic School - a centre of great importance for the Islands - was founded by a French subject, Sabino Berthelot.

Gran Canaria and Tenerife were in a privileged position in comparison to the other islands; with only La Palma rising to the occasion, and even so it had 16 schools in 1866, whereas the law proposed a minimum of 19. Without any statistical data available we must point out that by 1843 (3) 27 schools for boys and 6 schools for girls had been established, 19 of which received municipal funds, a number which, without any doubt, was ridiculous judging by the school-age population at the time.

By 1847 only a further seven schools had been established, evidencing little activity in this area. In contrast, during the 1860-1868 period some schools for adults were started and the number of state schools increased to 130 for boys and 40 for girls. This period was an important moment in the economic development of the Islands due to the industrialization of the cochineal.

By 1880, a total of 238 schools had been established, four of them for secondary education. Even so, we must say that the number of schools was insufficient for a population which was rapidly increasing, the rate of illiteracy being 90% by 1876.

The number of private centres was not very extensive, there being only 29 schools for boys and 31 for girls, with a total of 3,000 pupils. These centres were mostly run by members of the religious orders and were attended mainly by students of the upper classes.

The liberal dream, arising from the Cadiz Parliament of 1812, of creating a compulsory, free, independent education was very distant from the reality of the time, a problem which has continued up to these past years and which shows the difficulties which these Islands have had to face in an attempt to overcome so many difficulties.

This high level of illiteracy towards the end of the century makes us realize how the successes obtained in education were never on a massive scale.

During the twentieth century, in the period between 1900 and 1936, the gross rate of schooling (4) increased by 77%, whilst the net increase was 135%, with the years between 1928 and 1936 being those in which the effort was greater, years which coincided with a good period of the social and economic development both in our Islands and in the rest of Spain.

These figures cannot, however, be contrasted with the rate of failure and early school-leaving, which must have been high ad the peasant mentality had not been modified essentially, and no studies were needed to use agricultural tools, probably resulting in massive numbers of early school-leavers. Nevertheless, as occurred in the rest of the country, in 1932 the index of the working population reached, for the first time in our history, a higher level in the area of industry and services than in agriculture, pointing to an important fact: the birth of a middle-class and a small proletariat which would modify our society.

Thee formula applied for many years - with the exception of the republican break - to fight early school-leaving was the imposition of edmcatiom through religious fear, which had an enormous repercussion on peasant's minds, turning it into a repressive system, instead of being more rational and free. The Republican Government fought against this state of affairs by promoting university studies, popular culture, and the pedagogical missions, which proved to be very fruitful.

The Francoist regime returned to the inquisitorial methods, and the sixties brought, with its economic revolution and the need for a highly qualified labour force, the division of primary education into two levels within the Basic General Education (E.G.B.), the second level being what was formerly the lower certificate of education (bachillerato elemental). This second level is also compulsory and free.

The conclusions which might be reached on a historical level are the following: 1) Lack of appropriate teachers,who had to be trained on the mainland; 2) Lack of a tradition in educational matters within our Islands; 3) A strong peasant mentality; 4) Excessively rigid and out-of-date methods; 5) High rate of illiteracy.

2) POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Four political aspects must be taken into account when carrying out an analysis of our compulsory education. The first is that those governments most prone to granting regional autonomy have been the ones to most favour public education, insofar as it opened up more opportunities for the town halls to manage their own problems.

Thus we can see that the two Republican Governments, extending over the 1868-1874 and 1931-1936 periods, are going to promote the creation of schools and educational centres. A similar activity has taken place after the Canarian Autonomic Government of 1982, overcoming the great difficulty in achieving complete schooling for all the inhabitants, and fighting an illiteracy rate which has dropped at present to a 7%, with most of the remaining illiterates being over thirty years of age (5).

The second political aspect is that the Canarian Public Administratic was very limited, as it was the region with the lowest budgets granted by the different Ministers of Public Instruction, known as of Public Works in the nineteenth century, and of Education nowadays.

The third aspect is the regional rivalry existing over the concession of public centres. As no University existed between 1845 and 1927 there was an administrative dependence on Seville which provoked an evident delay in the development of our educational system.

The fourth aspect is that the more liberal governments favour compulsory state education to a larger extent, whilst the conservative ones advocate the creation of private centres, or are not so consistent about the compulsoriness pretended.

This shows that the need for an autonomous policy, a larger budget, and a progressive policy are the elements which have done more to attain education as a right for all.

Nevertheless, we can clearly see how compulsory education, and its development and success is more a result of the social and economic development than of the political one. It is precisely the emergence of the ports, the increase in commerce, etc., that allowed the develoment of a more industrial and modern society, with the disappearance of the agricultural sector as the main source of income outlining a new, commercial society with a greater need for study and education.

Nowadays, when compulsory education has become a reality, other kinds of problems related to the quality of education begin to appear. The massive numbers of pupils in the classrooms, the alarming increase in the rate of schooling failure, the lack of means, etc., lead us to believe that primary education needs a new restatement which will evidence the fact that it is not only necessary to achieve complete schooling for every individual but also their integration, training, etc. (1)

As a conclusion we can say that compulsory education in our Islands has always been characterized by the excessive difficulty in achieving complete schooling, the dream of the liberals of the last century, and that it is really a measure of our economic and social development, so that the greater the economic increase the greater the number of years of compulsory education, and the higher the rate of growth in education.

Compulsory education,then, is no more than a characteristic of the contemporary educational systems of those countries whose national income stems mainly from the area of industry and services, where the need for training is essential for the creation of the labour force needed by such a society.

Thus, this reality lends itself to every kind of political outlook, not always understood and carried out in a homogenous way. Nevertheless, today, planning and quality in education begins to be more necessary than the sole transmission of specific knowledge, indicating a greater social and cultural development.

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(1) *Vid MORENO BECERRA, J.L.: "La enseñanza en Canarias", Cuadernos de Pedagogía. Madrid, 122 (1985), 49-55.*

(2) Observamos datos contradictorios referentes a 1834 presentados por Francisco Mª de León y Darias Montesinos. El primer autor habla de la existencia de 9 escuelas en Tenerife, 8 en Las Palmas y 2 en La Palma, por lo que es difícil de creer y nos resulta contradictorio el que en 1847, como manifiesta la autora, existieran en Las Palmas 14 analfabetos por uno que no lo fuera, siendo Tenerife 108 analfabetos por uno que no lo fuera.

(3) Vid DARIAS MONTESINOS, E.: Ojeada histórica sobre la cultura en las Islas Canarias. Librería y Tipografía Católica. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1934.

(4) C.I.E.S. Cuadernos Canarios de Ciencias Sociales, V. 6, Caja Insular de Ahorros de Gran Canaria, Las Palmas, 1980, p. 65.

(5) Vid Idem., pp. 304-317.

(6) Vid SOSA ALSO, P.: "El fracaso escolar de las enseñanzas medias en Canarias". Ponencia presentada en el I Congreso Internacional sobre el Fracaso Escolar, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de Tarragona. Tarragona, Mayo de 1985.

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SUMMARY

Compulsory education in the Canary Islands began to be a reality en 1812 with the "Cortes de Cádiz", however we must wait until 1856, when Moyano passed the law of public instruccion (Ley de Instrucción Pública), for a new modern educational system to consolidate.

Although the law was completely different the context social and economical, whith a index of 80% illiteracy. This indicating a very slow progress in education policy. CANARY WAS FUNDAMENTALLY AGRICULTURAL.

In 1927 the Archipielago was divided in two provinces, the comercial activity was reactivate, and the industrial began to be a reality. In 1932 the economic industrial and serviture conjunctly was more high than agricultural economic.

So it was necesary to have a title for to work in the news offices.

The index illiteracy downed to 30% an was built a lo of centres of secundary education and one University.

The Civil War (1936-1939) broke the new modern republican education system. The Dictatorship (1939-1975) implanted a conservative educational system. The turisme expanded the economy and the progress social. In 1970 the new law of education was implanted, whetle. The primary school was added a compulsory second cicle, this was the elementary baccalaureate anterior.

Today, the index of illiteracy is 7%, whith a index of school downfall 30-35% in the second cicle of E.G.B., when for the first time the scholarship was full in 1983-84.

Compulsory education has been a symbol of us social and cultural develop. Today It' s not problem for us politics, however the "quality education" began to be it.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES ITS DEVELOPMENT AND SOME RECENT CONSIDERATIONS

Erwin v. Johanningmeier

Since the middle of the 19th century and even before then, educators in the United States have been nearly universally supportive of compulsory education. For most, compulsory education has meant attendance at either a state-supported public school which does not charge individual students any fee or attendance at a private school accredited by the state. The U. S. Constitution did not grant the federal government any authority to support, maintain, and direct public education, but the federal government has shown a longstanding interest in compulsory school attendance. *The Annual Report of the [U. S.] Commissioner of Education, 1887-1889*, included a chapter on compulsory attendance laws in the U. S. By 1929, the federal government had issued eight other publications on compulsory education.[1] During that same period, 26 states, Puerto Rico and the Territory of Alaska had enacted compulsory school attendance laws.

Accounts of compulsory education generally emphasize how educators and friends of public education struggled long and hard to secure enactment of compulsory education laws and how noble and worthy those struggles were. Those accounts typically begin with historical references to convince the reader that the practice of requiring children and youth to attend school has had a long and noble history. Those who inquire into the topic soon learn that compulsory education was not the invention of 19th and 20th century reformers but that of many wise, civilized and prosperous peoples from many places throughout history. Frequently, those who want to give compulsory education a long and noble history cite the famous law passed by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1642. While that law did order the selectmen of each town to "have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endavor to teach, by themselves and others, their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and a knowledge of the capital laws," it is not quite accurate to cite that laws as an example of a compulsory school attendance law. It was a "family law" rather than a "school law."

The law did not require the colonists to establish schools or to send their children to school. It rested on the assumption that the state had a right to make certain that parents were fulfilling their obligations. In the 19th century, however, the state would claim a right not only to demand that children be educated but also to regulate how and where they would be educated.

Enactment of compulsory education laws began a generation after the several states established free state-supported public schools. By the 1820s, advocates of free universal schooling were increasing in number and arguing that the state had a right to tax all to support schools. It was an argument which had been proposed as early as 1786 by Benjamin rush who maintained that all should be taxed for schools, even "the estates of orphans, bachelors, and persons who have no children." Rush believed "it could be proved that the expenses of confining, trying, and executing criminals amoung every year, in most of the counties, to more money than would be sufficient to maintain all the schools that would be necessary."[2]

Between the 1820s and 1850s, workers in the common school movement fashioned many versions of Rush's argument while trying to win support for schools. They emphasized that the state had a right to tax all to support public schools. All would benefit from the establishment of free public schools. Schooling would increase the knowledge available to society and therefore the productivity of manufactories and agriculture. An eduated people would constitute an efficient, safe, andmoral community where all would prosper. After schools were established, attention was turned to insuring that they would be used. Then the campaign for compulsory education began.

By 1865, most stated had accepted the arguments of the common school crusaders and were building and expanding their school systems. Educators then turned their attention to compuslory attendance. Just as Massachusetts served as a model for the establishment of common schools so did it serve as a model for compulsory education laws. Its first such law, enacted in 1852, required parents either to send their children to public schools or show that an equivalent education was being acquired elsewhere. By the time the nation celebrated its centennial, 13 other states and the District of Columbia had compulsory education laws. By the end of the 19th century, 19 joined ranks, and over half required children to attend school. By 1918, every state had a compulsory education law, and the Territory of Alaska enacted one in 1929. Most such laws require children to begin school at age 6, 7, or 8 and to remain there until they reach age 16.

Enactment of compulsory attendance laws did not immediage increase school attendance, especially among teenagers. It was not until the 1960s that schools achieved "full enrollment" (90%) of those betwen ages 14 and 17. However, once children reach age 16, enrollment declines. In 1970, 90% of those 16 and 17 years old were in school. In 1980, 89% of that cohort was enrolled. After age 17, enrollment declines dramatically. In 1980, 46.4% of those between 18 and 19 years of age were in school, 1.3% more than in 1970.

For 3 major reasons, enforcement of compulsory attendance laws was initially difficult. First, many officials were not interested in enforcing the laws. Second, in many places, school facilities could not accomodate all who would have attened had the laws been enforced. Finally, some laws were so poorly written that courts ruled that school officials did not have the aughority to enforce them or to impose penalities on those who did not comply with them.

Many were not interested in enforcement because enforcement was certain to create difficulties for teachers and school officials. There was often a dramatic difference between the deportment of those who wanted to attend school and those who did not. As long as attendance was voluntary, school authorities could easily manage the behavior of students by threatening them with expulsion. Compulsory attendance laws took that "management tool" away from school officials. Moreover, compulsory attendance required educators to develop a variety of programs and even different kinds of schools. As early as 1910, some believed that compulsory attendance required school systems to organize four different kinds of schools: (1) schools "for pupils who have become quite incorrigible, and whose parents have lost control of them"--schools were youth could be "committed for a term of years"; (2) schools for truants "where hours are long and manual work abundant"; (3) schools "for pupils who cannot easily be brought under the ordinary school discipline"; and (4) schools "for those who by irregular attendance have hopelessly fallen away from the regular class attainments."[3]

After Illinois adopted its compulsory attendance law in 1883, "there was not enough space in the schools for all the 'truant' boys and girls."[4] When Chicago officials decided to enforce the law in 1889, truant officers had to place the nearly 10,000 children they collected in night schools and in parochial schools because there was no room for them in public schools. Frequently, it was not known how many children should be in school. In some places, there was no systematic way to record births. There was also debate about whose responsibility it was to determine how many children were in a community and whether they were in school or working.

Developments in the American economy were often more responsible for compliance with compulsory education laws than were early attempts to enforce the laws. At the turn of the century, may children worked as cash boys or cash girls in large department stores. The invention and installation of pneumatic tubes eliminated those jobs just as the spread of the telephone quickly eliminated the need for messenger boys.[5] Such changes in the economy also served to weaken resistance to child labor laws.

By the 1950s, professional educators had achieved what they spent over half a century trying to accomplish. As Clarence Karier has stated, "compulsory education had become a reality."[6] By 1950, nearly 90% of American youth between ages 14 and 17 were attending secondary schools, 80% more than in 1900. Ironically, compulsory education and the conceptions of liberalism and of the state which support compulsory schooling became the subject of criticism just after "full enrollment" was achieved. Significantly, serious questioning of the propriety, efficacy, and even the constitutionality of what many now call the public school monopoly is not peculiar to any particular band of the political spectrum. In an introduction to a set of essays critical of compulsory schooling, Benjamin A. Rogge noted that while some approached the issue "with the value sets and presuppositions of the conservative right," others did so with those "of the anarcho-capitalist or traditional Liberal or New Left positions."[7] Even in the 1960s when there was still some belief that the "great society" could be built and that public education was an essential agency in its construction, public schooling was beginning to be viewed as a monopoly that needed more competition or even disassembling. Writing in 1964, Paul Goodman charged that compulsory education was not educative but mis-educative. He wrote that "we should be experimenting with different kinds of schools, no school at all, work camps. . . ." He wanted a "community . . . in which many adults who know anything, not just professional teachers, will pay attention to the young."[8]

By 1976, Kenneth B. Clark, neither a radical nor a sentimental romantic, had concluded that "the rigidity of present patterns of public school organization and the concommitant stagnation in quality of education and academic performance of children may not be amenable to any attemps at change working through the present system."[9] He urged the establishment of several new parallel public school systems as a way of restoring to public education "a vitality and dynamism." Competition worked in the private sector, he claimed, and it would work in education. His claim that "it is a serious question whether the United States Government can afford the continuation of the wastage of human resources at this period of world history"[10] was effectively restated in 1918 by James Coleman who concluded that "the tuition barrier to private schooling as it exists now is almost certainly harmful to the public interest, and especially harmful to the interests of those least well-off."[11]

Clark and Coleman are representative of those who wish to find an alternative form of schooling to realize what has been traditionally expected of public schooling: the protection and development of the national interest and the enhancement of social and economic mobility for individuals. Their positions are consistent with that of Ellwood P. Cubberley who argued early in the 20th century that by the middle of the 19th century, "a new conception of free public education as a birthright of the child on the one hand, and as an exercise of the state's inherent right to self-preservation and improvement on the other, had taken the place of the earlier conception of schools as merely a cooperative effort, based on economy, and for the instruction of youth merely in the rudiments of learning."[12] For over half a century, few questioned whether education was a legitimate interest of the state. Without such questioning, government increased not only its support but its control of the manner and the substance of education.

While it can be argued that the position articulated by Clark and Coleman fails to question whether improved forms of schooling, public or private, are adequate for Americans preparing for the 21st century, there is no absence of analyses which do consider whether effective changes in schooling are possible without an examination of the tacit assumptions held by those who believe that reform is possible. Some analyses necessarily focus on the nature of the society which supports traditional schools. For example, near the end of the 1960s, Fred M. Newman and Donald W. Oliver noted that a major liability of great society proponents was their inability to evaluate tradition and their inability to find alternatives in such evaluations. Consequently, they tend to see problems as the temporary and necessary price of progress and accept "as given the premises that education is (a) formal schooling, operating as (b) a public monopoly, (c) modeled after the organizational structure and utilitarian values of corporate business."[13]

More recently, Robert B. Everhart has contributed to the analysis of compulsory education by carefully editing a set of essays which carry forward the discussion of the public school monopoly. The authors in his work ask not how existing schools can be reformed to repair "the current erosion of confidence in the public school process" but focus "on the role of the state in education, and most specifically, on the manifestations of that role in the predominant form of legitimized education--public schooling."[14] If the modern state either functioned according to the principles of the "social contract theory" as defined by Locke, Benthan, or Rousseau or operated according to the principles set down by the Greeks and Rouseau and was therefore a true expression of the "general will," there would be no need to "inquire about the extent to which state-controlled schooling (the dominant form of legitimate public eduation) constitutes a 'predominant orthodoxy' about the nature of formal education, the acceptance of which limits our conception of education and the forms it may take."[15] However, the modern state is not the means by which society expresses its general will but is founded on the interpretations of the liberal German jurists Robert von Mohl and Rudolph von Gniest made of Hegel's conception of "civil society." Consequently, the state's administrative apparatus was allowed to stand for the state itself. Moreover, the belief in the ability of trained, professional civil servants, equipped with the principles and techniques of scientific management, to administer justly and efficiently the needs of society drew attention away from social purposes. The logic of our administtrative apparatus was allowed to define our social ends.

The modern state id not limit itself to serving as an umpire to insure that all had a fair chance at the education the state required in its interest, but, contrary to Adam Smith's advice, did for the people what they could have done better for themselves. It provided schools and thereby became the manager of the form and the substance of education. In the U. S. according to Karier, there was already established by the 1930s an educational bureaucracy staffed and managed by professional experts who were largely committed to the notions of liberalism and the state which George Herbert Mean and John Dewey had fashioned earlier in the century. Professional educators encouraged the state to use state-supported schooling to manage the social, economic and political interests of the nation.

Joel Spring claims that in the early years of the Republic, Rush and others wanted to use state-supported schools to create loyal "republican machines," observes how Horace Mann's insistence that schools avoid politically controversial issues developed into the now common practice of "stripping political teachings of all content,"[16] and discusses how federal support for educational research and program development "reinforced the twentieth-century patterns of professional control and the use of education to promote industrial efficiency."[17] His observation that there were fear of and opposition to governmentally controlled schools during the period when Americans were separating themselves from Great Britain is elaborated upon by George H. Smith. Smith acknowledges that the late 18th and early 19th century "Voluntaryists" had little impact in their day. He also shows that their predictions about the effects of state-controlled schooling match the complaints of modern revisionists.

C. H. Edson focuses on the period when the modern educational bureaucracy was constructed. His account of how educators believed that vocational education would serve the poor and immigrant children as well as satisfy the needs of the industrial society for trained workers shows how educators limited choices for their students as well as for themselves. They did not question wheter schooling should be preparation for work so they failed to see that their assumptions were sometimes contrary to the interests and aspirations of the students for whom they were prescribing schooling. While programs were developed on the assumption that membership in the workforce should be postponed until youth were schooled for work, youth wanted not to delay but to begin work. Charles Burgess, like Edson, agrees that the structure of public education need not have developed as it did. He argues that the longstanding belief that there must be "one best system" is not necessarily so. The commitment to rational, expert, professional management of our affairs, educational and otherwise, he claims, "has brought its blessings; but it has also broght presumptions and self-righteous impatience with those who preferred alernative ideals and life styles."[18]

In his discussion of how "institutional parameters" define and thereby limit what we consider to be educational reform, Everhart demonstrates that it may be more fruitful to try something different--to establish new purposes--than to find new and improved ways to realize our purposes. While the students of the knowledge utilization process are discovering the complexity of change and learning that it is an extraordinarily complex undertaking to rationalize the existing system, he points out that the sytem may now be as efficient as it will ever be. He asks us to consider the possibility that more money and better personnel may not resolve our current difficulties. Some of our problems are other than methodological and material in origin.

Donald A. Erickson's report that in private schools in British Columbia, the teachers, the students, and the students' parents showed more commitment to their schools than their counterparts in public schools suggests that there may be good reason to create legitimate and meaningful choices for students. Significanlty, his notion of commitment is one which entails more than a person meeting his or her contractual obligations. "To be committed," he suggests, "is to disregard, ignore, or supersede the units of work and pay, performing out of affection for the tasks, the enterprise as a whole, the shared goals of the enterprise as a whole, the shared goals of the enterprise, and the people who share those goals."[19]

Erickson's findings about the relationship between choice and commitment give us important reasons for pursuing the analysis of the public school monopoly and its effects on students and parents. Before compulsory education, it was possible for students to believe they attended school because they or their parents had so decided. Then it was possible to consider school attendance as an opportunity which would somehow enhance future social and economic opportunities. Compulsory attendance transformed the school: choice became compulsion and opportunity became obligation. When virtually all must attend school and attend the school to which they are assigned so that the state can effect some social policy, what was once choice becomes compulsion and opportunity becomes obligation.

Notes

1. For a listing of these see: August W. Steihilber and Carl J. Sokolowski. *State Laws on Compulsory Attendance*. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, OE-23044, Cir. No. 793 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 103.

2. Benjamin Rush, "Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools" in Frederick Rudolph (ed.). *Essays on Education in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 6-7.

3. "Attendance" in Paul Monroe (ed.). *A Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. I (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911), p. 294.

4. H. Warren Button and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr. *History of Education and Culture in America* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1983), p. 294.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

6. Clarence J. Karier, Foreword to Robert Everhart (ed.). *The Public School Monopoly: A Critical Analysis of Education and the State in American Society* (San Francisco: Pacific Institute for Policy Research, 1982), p. xix.

7. Benjamin A. Rogge, Introduction to William F. Rickenbacker (ed.). *The Twelve Year Sentence: Radical Views on Compulsory Schooling* (New York: Delta Books, 1974), p. 2.

8. Paul Goodman. *Compulsory Mis-education* (New York: Horizon Press, 1964), pp. 173-174.

9. Kenneth B. Clark, "Alternative Public School Systems," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Winter 1968), p. 108.

10. Ibid., p. 101.

11. James Coleman, "Private Schools, Public Schools, and the Public Interest," The Public Interest, No. 64 (Summer 1981), p. 108.

12. Ellwood P. Cubberley. Changing Conceiptions of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), pp. 34-35.

13. Fred M. Newman and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Winter 1967), p. 73.

14. Everhart, Introduction to Public School Monopoly, pp. 3-4.

15. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

16. Joel Spring, "The Evolving Political Structure of American Public Schooling," Public School Monopoly, p. 81.

17. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

18. Charles Burgess, "Growing Up Blighted: Reflections on the 'Secret Power' in the American Experience," Public School Monopoly, p. 35.

19. Donald A. Erickson, "Distrubing Evidence About the 'One Best System'." Public School Monopoly, pp. 397-398.

RESUME

En depit des tentatives par certains enseignants de douer l'enseignement obligatoire d'une tradition de precedents illustres dans l'histoire, le dévelopment aux Etats Unis de l'assistance obligatoire a l'ecole a veritablement commence dans les annees vingt du dix neuvieme siécle. A cette epoque la, le nombre des defenseurs de l'enseignement gratuit et universel augmentait, et ces personnes soutenaient que l'etat avait le droit de taxer tous les citoyens pour maintenir les ecoles. La premisse de leur raisonnement comptait sur la croyance que la creation d'une sociéte composée d'individus sachants lire et écrire etait avantageux pour tout le monde. Avant 1865, la plupart des Etats-Unis avaient accepté les raisonnements des croisés et l'école publique, et l'on y construisait et étendait des systémes d'ecoles. L'étape suivante, dans l'intérét de la sociéte et pour l'avenir de la nation, était l'assistance obligatoire. Ce n'est que dans les années cinquante du vingtième siécle, époque où 90 pourcent des jeunes américains entre l'âge de quatroze et de dix-sept ans assistaient à l'école secondaire, que les enseignants pouvaient prétendre une "immatriculation universelle."

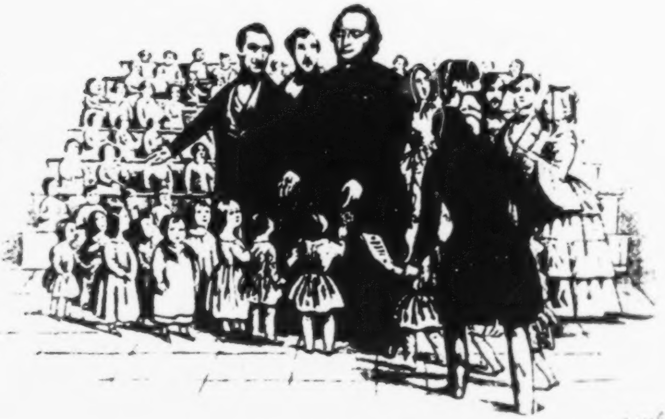
Ironiquement, juste aprés que cette "immatriculation universelle" a été rálisée, l'enseignement obligatoire et les conceptions du libéralisme et de l'état qui soutient l'enseignement obligatoire sont devenus sujets de critique. Les critiques, sans aucun penchant politique particulier, mettent en question l'opportunité, l'efficacité même la constitutionalité de ce que bien des personnes appellent maintenant le monopole de l'école publique. Chargée de la protection et du développement de l'intérét national et du rehaussement de la mobilité sociale et economique des individus, l'école publique ne réalise pas son dessein. Tandis que quelques critiques continuent à pousser la réforme comme moyen de satisfaire ces expectatives traditionnelles, d'autres critiques mettent en question les expectatives elles-mêmes.

Initialement, l'enseignement public gratuit était proposé comme une occasion pour que puissent y assister tous ceux qui étaient motivés ou qui s'y intéressaient. Mais avec la promulgation des lois qui ont établit l'enseignement obligatoire, l'état a commencé à assumer un nouveau róle dans l'enseignement public. Aujord'hui, l'etat décide non seulement quant nos enfants seront éduqués, mais aussi où et comment ils seront éduqués. Contraints par la loi d'assister ou à une école publique maintenue par l'état, ou à une école libre sous contrat, ceux qui ne peuvent pas assumer la dépense d'une école libre n'ont pas le droit de choisir le moyen ou la forme de leur enseignement. Ils doivent apprendre sous les conditions et pur les desseins estimés comme convenables a l'état. L'assistance obligatoire a transformé l'école: ce qui était autrefois choix est devenu contrainte. Ce qi était autrefois occasion est devenu obligation.

LETTURE
DI FAMIGLIA

giornale settimanale di educazione civile, morale e religiosa

Anno Secondo.



E i bambin t'amano tanto
E per te mattina e sera
A colui che è tutto santo
Ergon l'umile preghiera
E fan coro gli angioletti
Al pregar de' fanciulletti
Canto dei bambini delle Scuole infantili a [illegible]
FERRANTE APORTI
LETTURE DI FAMIGLIA anno II pag. 166

TORINO
PRESSO G. POMBA E COMP. EDITORI
1843.

LA "COMPULSORY EDUCATION" NEL CONTESTO SOVIETICO

Giorgio Vuoso

1. Il primo periodo della storia del sistema scolastico sovietico va dal 1917 al 1921. Si ebbe allora l'inizio delle trasformazioni radicali.Anzitutto fu liquidato il vecchio apparato dell'amministrazione scolastica.La direzione dell'istruzione fu assunta il 9 novembre 1917 (due giorni dopo l'assalto al Palazzo d'Inverno) dalla Commissione di Stato.Il 26 giugno 1918 essa fu sostituita dal Commissariato popolare per l'istruzione,noto come NARKOMPROS; sicché accanto a Lenin,ci furono Trotskij alla guerra e Lunacarskij all'istruzione.D'altronde i fondamenti del sistema scolastico sovietico furono posti dall'azione congiunta dei rivoluzionari russi; in particolare,la riforma bolscevica della scuola fu anticipata e preparata dalle idee pedagogiche della Krupskaia.Oltre che moglie di Lenin,ella era la sua prima collaboratrice,specializzata nel settore pedagogico.

L'atto legislativo piu' importante di questo periodo fu la pubblicazione,apparsa il 16 ottobre 1918,del Regolamento istitutivo della scuola del lavoro (trudovaja skola),con annessa Dichiarazione sulla scuola unica.Si formava così un tipo particolare di compulsory education in linea con l'intera tradizione socialista in campo educativo.La scuola unica fu concepita come obbligatoria,gratuita,laica e mista di ragazzi e ragazze (come è documentato dalla Deklaratsija).Dalle affermazioni giuridiche non fu subito possibile passare alla realizzazione dei fatti. Gli inputs ereditati dal regime zarista sul piano educazionale erano costituiti : a) da una popolazione analfabeta per il 75% circa; b) dal fatto che i 4/5 dei ragazzi non frequentavano alcun tipo di scuola; c) mancavano edifici e personale docente. Su tale fragile base,iniziò una forte scolarizzazione di massa.

Fu abolita la competenza del clero ortodosso su qualsiasi ti po di scuola. Conseguentemente, fu sancita l'abolizione dell'insegnamento religioso. Il decreto del 31 ottobre 1918 stabilì il diritto spettante alle varie nazionalità dell'Unione Sovietica di introduzione nella scuola,come lingua ufficiale d'insegnamento, la propria lingua nazionale.La funzione sociale della scuola era evidenziata dalla refezione scolastica gratuita e dalla distribuzione dei libri,della cancelleria,dei vestiti e finanche delle scarpe. Non mancava la vigilanza medica. Come affermazione di principio,si stabilì l'obbligo scolastico fino al diciassettesimo anno di età. La scuola unica era distinta in due gradi : il primo comprendeva cinque gruppi (la parola classe di origine erasmiana fu abolita) per i ragazzi dagli 8 ai 13 anni, il secondo di quattro per gli adolescenti dai 13 ai 17 anni.La *novennale* copriva tutta la giornata lavorativa dalle otto di mattina alle diciassette di sera. Ogni distinzione fra maestri e professori venne soppressa. Furono tutti operai della scuola (skrab) e percepirono la medesima retribuzione mensile. Come avvertiva una circolare di Lunacarskij, le scuole erano tenute a mantenere contatti con le officine,le fattorie,le fabbriche,a seconda del loro diverso indirizzo. La trudovaja skola non aveva niente a che vedere con le scuole professionali di vecchio tipo. La prassi pedagogica sovietica rifiutava la pedagogia della saliva,ma collegava l'osservazione e la pratica del lavoro alla concezione scientifica. Il concetto della politecnicizzazione superava l'antitesi della scuola dei retori e della scuola come apprendistato. Senonché i gruppi spesso si autogestivano in maniera selvaggia.Sicché come nelle fabbriche prima della NEP si parlava tanto di lavoro,ma si lavorava poco,così i ragazzi decidevano da sé,nelle loro assemblee,che cosa volessero studiare e da chi ricevere l'insegnamento,ma con scarsi risultati cognitivi. Si sperimentarono i gruppi fluidi, dove alla fine di ogni settimana gli alunni eleggevano i propri skrab .Vennero aboliti gli esami e i compiti a casa.

La teoria della morte della scuola si profilò nell'aprile del 1920. Lo Strezbitskij anticipò le estreme conclusioni dello Sciulghin. Secondo tale teoria,anziché partire dalla scuola per giungere all'officina,bisognava far sì che le fabbriche inglobassero le scuole. In tal caso,si sarebbe esaurita la funzione dei libri,dei programmi e degli insegnanti. Alla confusione determinata dal velleitarismo degli studenti e dal radicalismo dei pedagogisti si aggiunse l'impreparazione dei docenti ; sicché malgrado la scuola unica,molti ginnasi sopravvissero, addirittura fino al 1928.

2. Con la fine della guerra civile (1920),cominciò il secondo periodo della scuola sovietica. Esso comprende gli anni dal 1921 al 1930. La crisi economica fece sentire il suo influsso sulla realtà scolastica. La rarefazione delle merci,compresi i generi di prima necessità,aveva innescato il meccanismo del vorticoso flusso inflazionistico. Le scuole sperimentali subirono un calo notevole : dalle 195 esistenti nel 1922 si ridussero a 20 nel 1929. Anche molte scuole ordinarie si dovettero chiudere, per mancanza di insegnanti e di locali. La compulsory education era stata sancita dalla Rivoluzione,ma la strada della sua affermazione era lunga. Tipici di questo periodo della scuola sovietica furono i programmi preparati dal NARKOMPROS,che divennero obbligatori nel 1923-24.Nacque allora il metodo dei complessi. Le vecchie materie d'insegnamento confluirono in un tutto organico,distinto appena in tre aree,sviluppantesi di anno in anno intorno ai rispettivi temi della natura,del lavoro e della società. Fin dai primi passi nello studio,le conoscenze strumen

t li erano considerate acquisibili indirettamente,col puntare l'obiettivo sulle grandi mete educative.

Prima della svolta degli anni Trenta e delle critiche di Makarenko e degli studiosi occidentali,i pedagogisti sovietici come il Kalascnikov esaltarono il nuovo metodo come la vittoria definitiva sul nozionismo. Nel 1927 sorsero le officine scolastiche (skolnye masterkie). Si lavorava per l'innovazione senza aspettarsi risultati concreti. Negli anni Venti il clima culturale,nonostante le difficoltà economiche,aveva determinato una fiducia contagiosa nelle nuove metodologie. I programmi del 1923 avevano stabilito la struttura epistemologica della pedagogia :"La sociologia costituisce l'asse fondamentale della scuola,non perché la scienza della natura debba passare in secondo piano,sebbene nel senso che gli studi,senza eccezione, debbono essere tutti impregnati di significato morale. La società umana,le basi della sua vita che determinano la sua coscienza morale costituiscono il centro attorno a cui è disposto tutto il programma della nostra scuola". La pedagogia sovietica limitò l'apporto letterario ed estetico ai confini marginali e aprì una breccia nel naturalismo stesso,in quanto assoggettò gli sviluppi delle teorizzazioni scientifiche alla coordinazione della filosofia della natura,allineata sul materialismo engelsiano.

3. Il ripiegamento su posizioni tradizionali cominciò nel 1927. Si parlò di "stabilizzazione".Per accedere all'università furono ripristinati gli esami di ammissione.La Krupskaja e Blonskij definirono "borghese" la stabilizzazione.Si temeva che la restaurazione dell'autonomia delle singole discipline equivalesse al ritorno verso il formalismo dell'antica scuola,quasi una sorta di tradimento e di sabotaggio per preparare il ritorno della

borghesia.D'altronde i genitori pretendevano codesta restaurazione.Come il mugik al tempo di Tolstoj,essi volevano che la scuola dell'obbligo insegnasse sul serio.L'efficientismo correva il pericolo di diventare revisionismo.Vaganian teneva che la scuola russa tornasse a fabbricare uomini per una gerarchia basata sulla divisione del lavoro.Si giunse così ai ritocchi del 1929,che se non reintrodussero integralmente il metodo dei complessi,tuttavia soddisfecero parzialmente le richieste dei teorici della morte della scuola concedendo di nuovo il lavoro manuale.La parziale accettazione dell'idea della politecnicizzazione provocò la formulazione rigorosa della teoria della morte della scuola da parte di Sciulghin. La rivista "Rabotnik Prosvescenija" (L'operatore scolastico) nei numeri 19 e 20 del 1929 pubblicò la sua polemica col Pistrac,arroccato su posizioni revisioniste.Secondo Sciulghin,la scuola è strumento di dominio della classe borghese.Perciò la scuola cessa di esistere nella società comunista.Estinguendosi lo Stato borghese,la scuola muore con esso.Vengono così a cadere le sue tradizionali caratteristiche : la divisione in classi,i programmi distinti per materie e i libri di testo.La struttura sociale bada non solo alla produzione,bensì pure alla socializzazione dei nonadulti. Nel radicalismo Sciulghin era affiancato dalla Krupenina,la quale sosteneva il primato del lavoro sociale e produttivo nei confronti della cultura generale.La teoria descolarizzante prevedeva la metodologia delle brigate di studio,per cui i ragazzi si raggruppavano secondo le differenti forme di lavoro.Per soddisfare tali esigenze nel 1930 il NARKOMPROS permise la sperimentazione del metodo dei progetti.Del resto,erano gli ultimi conati della sperimentazione.L'anno precedente Lunacearskij era stato allontanato dal NARKOMPROS di Bubnov,che sempre più aveva assunto il carattere di ministero della pubblica istruzione dell'intera Unione Sovietica,ed era stato sostituito da Bubnov,un generale protetto da Stalin.L'effetto Bubnov sulla scuola consistette nell'accentuazione del serpeggiante autoritarismo. Il militarismo era reperibile nella stessa terminologia,che si allineò con la semantica della piatiletka,cioé del piano quinquennale.L'egualitarismo come "livellamento" dei costumi e della vita privata era considerato come una reazionaria sciocchezza da piccolo borghese.Lo Stakhanovismo economico trovò il suo equivalente pedagogico nella "battaglia culturale".Il NARCOMPROS riconobbe che i licenziati ammessi negli istituti superiori non sapevano risolvere equazioni di secondo grado,avevano scarse conoscenze di geografia e ignoravano le lingue straniere.Tale situazione portò alla creazione della settennale e della decennale,preparate da due "Risoluzioni" del CC del Partito comunista.La prima del 5 settembre 1931 reintrodusse orari regolari e specificò quali materie dovevano essere insegnate.La seconda del 25 agosto del 1932 sostituiva esplicitamente il metodo delle brigate di studio con l'esposizione sistematica da parte dell'insegnante di ogni argomento.La nuova struttura scolastica si consolidò nel 1934. Allora l'ideale della politecnicizzazione subì un offuscamento. Anzi alcuni critici diranno che si trattò di una controrivoluzione scolastica,tale da caratterizzare il terzo periodo della scuola sovietica,che copre gli anni fra il 1931 e il 1958.

L'obbligatorietà della settennale auspicata negli anni Trenta subì dei rinvii prima per la mancanza degli insegnanti,poi a causa della guerra mondiale e dei disagi che ne seguirono.Solo nel 1949 trovò piena attuazione,a cominciare dai centri urbani. Il cognitivismo ormai sostituiva la formazione politecnica,centrata sulle abilità di lavoro.Dalla quarta alla decima classe,per la promozione da una classe all'altra,furono obbligatori gli esami annuali per ogni disciplina.Nell'anno scolastico 1937-38, i voti furono sostituiti con le dichiarazioni di merito, che furono cinque come lo erano i voti per un antico uso russo.

Il pedagogista degli anni Trenta, critico della prassi scriteriata, fu il Gaissynovitc. Già la Krupskaja aveva sostenuto che l'educazione professionale doveva scendere dalla testa alle mani. Gaissynovitc rincarò la dose, dichiarando che le abilità manuali (i navykj) non soddisfacevano più, giacché occorre la conoscenza dei fondamenti scientifici del lavoro compiuto. Le ore di lavoro manuale non erano più occupate nella costruzione di aeroplani di cartone e di sedie di fil di ferro oppure con arcaici strumenti, non più adoperati nelle officine. Ormai ci si occupava della preparazione di prodotti industriali. Le attrezzature dei gabinetti scientifici consentivano la verifica dei concetti impliciti nelle applicazioni industriali delle leggi scientifiche. In tal modo si reagiva all'eccessivo pragmatismo del periodo precedente. La decennale non trascurava l'educazione estetica. Infatti si crearono circoli di studenti, diretti da un insegnante, dove i ragazzi si riunivano generalmente una volta la settimana per occuparsi di filodrammatica, pittura e scultura. Cambiò pure la metodologia storica. Fino ad allora il materialismo storico era stato ridotto ad una sorta di economicismo. La storia era divisa in periodi definiti, distinti dalla forma economica prevalente. Il movimento rivoluzionario scattava come una "molla" azionata dal substrato della storia meccanicistica dell'economia oppure restava bloccato dalla collisione determinata da forze economiche contrapposte. La storia senza uomini era il risultato del conflitto di costrutti sociologici. Fu ritenuto responsabile di tale metodologia storica Pokrovski, giacché egli spiegava scolasticamente e monologicamente le sovrastrutture sociali (Stato, diritto, religioni, ideologie ecc.) mediante l'economia. Tale metodo fu criticato nel 1936 dallo storico Drozdov e accusato di causare un abbassamento del livello teorico. Del resto già nel 1934 su precise disposizioni staliniane 12 milioni di manuali erano stati mandati al macero (invero meno del 10% delle colossali tirature). I testi più attraenti furono quelli di Vanag, Lintz e Lozinski, giacché essi invece di insegnare la storia civile in forma viva e attraente, esponendo gli avvenimenti nell'ordine cronologico e caratterizzando l'attività dei personaggi storici, offrivano agli allievi disinformanti definizioni di formazioni economico-sociali e schematismi sociologici astratti. Proprio nel 1936 fu bandito un concorso per il migliore manuale di storia per le scuole elementari. Allora l'incarico fu assegnato a Scestakov.

L'umanesimo socialista penetrò allora nella psicologia. Nel 1938, venne messa sotto accusa la pedologia per il fatto di aver tentato di imporre il primato della psicologia meccanicistica e quantitativa alla pedagogia. La psicologia sovietica s'avviava a divenire una scienza sociale. Se non altro veniva decisamente rifiutata la standardizzazione della teoria reflessiologica di Pavlov.

Nel frattempo la gratuità della scuola unica aveva determinato la carenza dei quadri tecnici intermedi. Il 10 luglio 1940 fu pubblicato un decreto allo scopo di far sì che ogni anno ad un determinato contingente di ragazzi di quattordici/quindici anni fosse imposto di frequentare apposite scuole di artigianato, ferrovia, fabbrica e officina, in altri termini agenzie di bassa qualificazione. Sicché, dopo la *settennale*, si ristabiliva la selezione. La regionalizzazione pianificatrice rischiava di imporre metodi di destra nell'intento di perseguire gli scopi di sinistra. Infatti la mobilitazione forzosa fu riservata ai figli dei genitori che avevano difficoltà a pagare le tasse della *decennale*, che un altro decreto aveva ristabilite (quasi corrispondenti alla paga mensile di un operaio). Durante la guerra il numero degli studenti diminuì di due quinti. Il 10 gennaio 1944 si ritornò al sistema dei voti. Data la stretta corrispondenza del voto al giudizio, tale cambiamento non mutava la sostanza delle cose, mentre era notevole la professione dell' "emulazione soci -

lista",avvenuta con decreto del 25 gennaio dello stesso anno.Si capì sul campo,che la produttività scolastica non era paragonabile alla produttività industriale.Infatti i maestri,resi responsabili dopo l'abolizione della pedologia del progresso dei loro alunni,aumentavano artificialmente la valutazione dei risultati scolastici.

Gli esami di promozione o di passaggio da una classe all'altra erano già stati introdotti nel 1932 (prima di tale data in genere la pubblicistica pedagogica sovietica li aveva combattuti).Per migliorare sostanzialmente la qualità dell'istruzione,il decreto del 21 giugno 1944 obbligò ad esami di diploma gli alunni della scuola elementare e della *settennale* e agli esami di maturità quelli che avevano compiuto la *decennale*.

4.All'epoca di Stalin la scuola divenne meritocratica e accantonò l'ideale marxiano della politecnicizzazione.Secondo Krusciov, ciò condusse al verbalismo e al teoreticismo.Egli colse l'occasione del XX Congresso del 1956 per criticare la scuola,in quanto "lontana e separata dalla vita".Sulla base di tale critica, venne istituita l'*ottennale* nel dicembre dello stesso anno.Già nel periodo della *settennale*,un decreto dell'8 settembre 1943 aveva abbassato l'inizio dell'obbligo scolastico al settimo anno; sicché ora la scuola obbligatoria coinvolgeva tutti i ragazzi dai 7 ai 15 anni di entrambi i sessi.Fino al 1943,la coeducazione era stata applicata in tutte le istituzioni scolastiche dell' URSS.Poi fu parzialmente proibita,come fu reso più difficile il divorzio.La coeducazione fu reintrodotta nel 1954,cosicché al momento dell'introduzione dell'*ottennale*,la separazione sessuale era ridotta ad un minimo più che ragionevole : nelle classi terminali le lezioni di ginnastica erano frequentate separatamente e per lo più le lezioni di economia domestica venivano seguite quasi esclusivamente dalle ragazze.Si fissava per l'anno 1962-63 la meta dell'istruzione ottennale obbligatoria da realizzarsi effettivamente.La scuola ottennale si proponeva lo scopo di una maggiore scolarizzazione,finalizzata alla lotta contro la tecnocrazia. Infatti dalla fine della seconda guerra mondiale,si stava verificando nell'Unione Sovietica la "morbida" ascesa,lenta ma non impercettibile,della classe dei tecnocrati.I genitori inseriti nel terziario favorivano i figli nell'accesso ai diplomi universitari e così agli impieghi di più alto rango.Rispetto alla decennale, la scuola ottennale riduceva i costi e non produceva un surplus di energie intellettuali inutilizzabili.La caratteristica essenziale della "ristrutturazione" consiste nell'indirizzo praticistico teso ad annullare la separazione fra lavoro intellettuale e lavoro manuale.L'ottennale introduce,accanto alla preparazione al lavoro,lo stesso lavoro sociale utile,nella misura di due settimane alla fine degli ultimi quattro anni.L'orientamento pratico riguarda pure la letteratura e la lingua russa.Infatti gli argomenti di lettura vertono su molti aspetti della realtà circostante.Analogamente,viene suggerito all'insegnante di ricavare gli esercizi di aritmetica dalla vita e dal lavoro dei ragazzi.Inoltre,lo studio della lingua straniera tende a dare una conoscenza pratica della lingua,finalizzata ad un tipo di comunicazione ridotta allo stretto indispensabile.Infine,allora si cercava di eliminare dalla didattica della storia il "sovraccarico".I lavori agricoli si svolgevano nell'appezzamento didattico-sperimentale.Nelle scuole rurali,la pratica di produzione si svolgeva direttamente nei kolchozy e nei sovchozy.In ogni caso era previsto l'uso di apparecchiature elettriche,di motori e di impianti di illuminazione secondo gli Standards industriali.

Al verbalismo della scuola precedente del tempo di Stalin,si era sostituito il praticismo dell'ottennale,sicché dal 1964 si levarono voci di lamentele circa il carattere ripetitivo e monotono dell'apprendistato al lavoro e alla produzione.I ragazzi apprendevano poco nelle loro visite sui posti di lavoro e finivano per disturbare coloro che lavoravano sul serio.L'orario del lavoro manuale venne ridotto una prima volta.Nel 1966,vi fu un'ulteriore riduzione di ore e di contenuti.L'accento si spostò di nuovo dal lavoro nella fabbrica e nella fattoria al lavoro nei laboratori scolastici e sui piccoli appezzamenti di terreno. Verso la fine degli anni Sessanta il governo sovietico cercava di realizzare l'obbligatorietà della decennale rinnovata.Nelle città,circa un settianta per cento degli alunni portava a termine il corso completo degli studi secondari.Recentemente ci si volge alla realizzazione della undecennale,prima limitata ad alcuni ambiti nazionali.Inoltre gli alunni accedono ora alla scuola dell'obbligo all'età di sei anni.Infine,l'analfabetismo è ridotto a livelli quasi insignificanti.

SUMMARY

The first period of the history of sovietic-scolastic system goes from 1917 to 1921.The most important law of this period was the school regulation,that sets up the new system of "trudovaja skola"(16 october 1918).During the czar's period,three thirds of the population were illeterate.Juridically,the compulsory education concerned the young until the seveenteenth year.The scolastic system was unitary,but distinct in two degrees: the first included five groups (the word "class" was abolished) from eight to thirteen years,the second of four groups from thirteen to seventeen year.The wild experimentalism with fluid groups distinguished this period.The second period goes from 1921 to 1930.The complex system was adopted in the scolastic year

1923-24.The teaching was not divided in matters,but in three areas - nature,work and society.With greater realism,the novennial school becomes septennial.

In the third period the "desjatiletka" co-operated with the "semiletka".The matters were introduced and the school became more authoritative.Only in this period the septennial school was really compulsory (1949).The historicism,economically limited,was criticized from Pokrovsky.The textbooks of Vanag,Mintz and Lozinski were censured.The pedology´s supremacy on the pedagogy was abolished.

The "perestroika" marks the beginning of the fourth period.Krusciov accused the Stalin´schools to encourage the verbosity.He charged them with theoreticalism.So the "vosmiletnjaja skola" revalued the polytechnic concept of education.In the third period,the compulsory education began at seven years (1943),therefore in the fourth period the compulsory education concerned boys and girl from seven to fifteen years.Now the tecnocracy does not frighten.Some schools utilize the computer ("Evm").The compulsory education concern the children from six years to seventeen.Perhaps a new period begins.

A NEW LOOK AT THE ACT OF TEACHING FL READING

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Why the emphasis on reading skills when the FL profession is committed to promoting the significance of fluency? This question though justifiable reveals the compartmentalized way we think about FL instruction and learning. Communicative competency cannot be achieved on the basis of a single skill. From the volume of printed matter digested by FL readers it should be evident that reading ability is intricately linked to the other FL skills. Yet despite the vital role played by written materials in the FL classroom the reading process continues to be neglected. The field of FL reading research offers researchers, teachers, and students alike a chance to explore what FL competency is ultimately all about.

Focusing on FL reading spurs one to consider why this component has been so underrated. How does reading ability figure into the overall mastery of a FL? To what extent is reading a key to bridging the cross-cultural gap? Which techniques are best suited to building reading competency? How should they be taught? To answer these questions it is necessary to define reading - to place it into perspective within the context of existing L1 reading research as well as with respect to the remaining FL skill areas.

What is reading - it is an active process by means of which we derive meaning from a text. Why do we read - in order to obtain information which permits us to function as aware, effective, and independent individuals. How do we read - by learning to take in, organize, and manipulate printed input as successfully as possible. What does one do with the new information - increase one's understanding of the world, improve one's ability to communicate, make informed choices, and in so doing achieve a measure of control over our daily lives. In the broad sense FL reading skill contributes to intellectual growth which should stand the individual in good stead throughout life. This implies that the training of FL readers is ultimately linked to basic issues regarding the function and rewards of FL education in today's society. Amidst ongoing budget cuts and increased emphasis on mathematical and scientific skills it is expedient to ask how FL study can best contribute to our educational system? We need to examine our priorities and determine where FL skills fit into our long range goals.

A lot has been written about FL reading readiness in terms of selecting texts based on vocabulary counts, providing glosses and visual reinforcement. The literature abounds with terms such as "global picture", "regarding for meaning", and "contextual constraints", all of which represent a growing trend to stress extralinguistic variables.[1] For some time it has been acknowledged that the reading act cannot simply be reduced to skill in decoding from the target to the native language. This is evident when literal translations prove inadequate in tapping the underlying meaning. Those engaged in teaching Language and Literature are very much aware of the "affective gap" between reader and text. The term "affective" gap" is used here to refer to the lack of those psychological and cultural components which serve as essential cues in the process of sending and receiving information. Conventional vocabulary drills, plot summaries, focus questions and spot translations are often helpful in increasing an instructor's awareness of comprehension problems. But while comprehension exercises and written assignments can be used to monitor factual understanding, they are often inadequeate in terms of assessing manipulative skills and critical reasoning. Students must be encourage to become independent readers capable of processing the FL text. This will reduce their dependence on the teacher as well as contribute to more efficient use of the limited contact hours. The initial encounters with a FL text are extremely significant in terms of developing expectations. The students' reactions to reading sessions are quickly reinforced during the first weeks and may then affect future assignments. It becomes increasingly difficult and very time consuming for the instructor to alter the situation because this entails changing learning habits which have already been reinforced.

If FL reading is to serve as a vehicle for stimulating communication, it is important to reconsider reading instruction in terms of improving cultural insight and self-esteem in addition to linguistic skills. What is needed is an approach to reading instruction which is conducive to learning and instrumental in establishing a bond between reader and text as well as between teacher and student. In order to formulate practical guidelines we must consider where and when FL reading instruction really begins. Should one concentrate first on the teacher, the text, or the student? Perhaps it is more useful to assume that reading is a dynamic process involving the interplay of all three. This being the case, it becomes all the more important to investigate those extralinguistic factors which contribute to the interaction but have been neglected so far.

As numerous researchers and practitioners have pointed out, a critical factor underlying the state of reading research is the lack of functional definition of reading itself.[2] This was due in part to theories which treated reading a an innate skill which was not observable and therefore unteachable (Phillips 1975). It is only more recently that reading has been recognized as an active process. In other words reading is now considered a form of problem-solving behaviour which involves the interaction of affective and cognitive factors.[3] The validity of experimental studies has been challenged because of the intrusive nature of the investigative methods themselves. As a result there has been a lack of agreement as to the nature of cognitive and affective factors underlying the reading process. To this day many questions concerning the relationship between language, thought, and affect remain unanswered pending the development of more sophisticated impirical techniques. However most researchers do agree that reading comprehension involves three different types of linguistic processing which are employed simultaneously by the reader. The first level relates to visual input which is linked to the sound system of a language. Then there is a syntactic component based on the organization of morphemic clues, word strings and hierarchial relations between sentences. The third level consists of the semantic aspect or the meaning extracted from the linguistic and situational context of the text.

In addition to these cognitive abilities reading comprehension involves background knowledge which enables the reader to grasp concepts and perceive contextual constraints. The reader also brings certain feelings, expectations, interests, preferences, and values to the reading act.[4] These variables make up the reader's affective profile. In recent years considerable attention has been devoted by researchers and practitioners to the role of the affective domain in enhancing FL oral skills specifically.[5] Tapping the affective profile of the individual is seen as the key to promoting FL skills. Consequently increasing emphasis has been placed on establishing communication pathways between teachers and students which are conducive to learning. In the FL classroom communication is predicated on the teacher's ability to convey precise definitions of the learning task, create task oriented expectations and develop a set of interrelated learning strategies which can be mastered and controlled by the individual student.

In order to communicate effectively in a FL the individual must be able to receive, process, and produce a myriad of FL stimuli in both oral and written modes; i.e. the ability to read, write, listen, speak and translate. The key to attaining proficiency lies in the control a student exerts over the FL medium. The degree of control is in turn a direct function of the student's mastery of specific learning tools. The sooner students learn how to approach written materials, the faster they can assimulate FL input. This implies that we as educators must deal with the process as well as the substance of FL instruction. In other words, classroom contact hours would be best employed in teaching students how to learn a FL. Concentrating on the actual mechanics of FL learning has two advantages. In the first place, it compensates for the severe limitations imposed on FL exposure in the classroom setting by reducing the need for endless repetition and explanations. Secondly, it forces teachers to streamline their approach by establishing a routine students can quickly adopt for themselves. Teaching students how to learn a FL is the only way to ensure that they become capable of learning independently outside the classroom walls.

In order to teach students the necessary tools it is essential to aim for specific levels of proficiency across all skill areas from the onset of FL instruction. The skills students need may be divided into two complementary but distinct spheres of interactions, i.e. on the one hand matters relating to the cultural filter underlying the target languages's system of categorizing experience and on the other, acquisition of lexical, syntactical, and phonetic components which are the basis of reading, writing, listening, speaking, and translation skills. Clearly one cannot separate the cultural underpinnings of language from the various modes of communicating in any formal way. This is precisely the reason for claiming that FL intructors must place a priority on sensitizing students to the culture-specific mode of organizing information and experiences. What is more, this must be accomplished in a systematic fashion based on a series of integrated activities for each of the five skills.

The FL profession's current concern with proficiency levels must be matched by a similar concern to revamp existing methods in order to achieve proficiency. As preliminary studies using the ACTFL guidelines indicate, we must develop more efficient methods for overcoming the affective and cognitive void students experience while making the transition from native to target language. The significance of FL reading skills as a means of promoting proficiency must be reevaluated. The ability to read is an important key to assuming control because written input has long been the primary source of stimulation both in and outside the classroom setting. Printed matter is readily available, affordable, and practical to work with for individuals as well as groups. FL reading instruction means teaching students how to receive and process written materials. Most importantly, reading practice provides a solid base for developing the other FL skills.

Where and how does one begin to teach students to read a FL? The first step is to create expectancies regarding the FL material, whether it is a dialogue, poem, article, short story, letter, application, or advertisement. Students must be taught how to receive new information so that they are in a position to process and assimilate it. Reading assignments should therefore involve a preparatory stage where teacher and student concentrate on developing reading-readiness. This can be done by allotting time for intensive orientation concerning the linguistic and situational variables contained in the text. Students need to anticipate the context by developing a set of expectancies based on selected FL cues. The act of creating expectancies contributes to a positive mind-set because it provides a conceptual springboard and a practical set of tools for interpreting the FL text. Reader-readiness means that the student is ready to learn because he has acquired the necessary conceptual framework to match with the context of the text. The goal of the pre-reading activities is to help the student to develop a specific approach strategy based on a series of simple steps.

The emphasis here on written input does not in any way preclude the necessity of developing expectancies in each of the other skill areas. Students must be encouraged to improve their speaking, writing, and listening skills, all of which reinforce their ability to read efficiently. Attention must be given to each skill from the onset and then continue to the point where the student can take a specific course which focuses on one of the skills in particular, i.e. conversation or translation. A solid foundation based on an affective oriented "receiving" stage prepares the student to tackle more advanced courses in each of the specific skill areas. Preparatory questions and statements should provide an opportunity to listen and respond orally and in written form. FL instruction must be designed so that students assimilate key words and concepts by means of personalized activities which require group interaction. Students must be encouraged to communicate with each other rather than rely on teacher initiated question-answer formats.

Post-reading activities are also necessary to tap the same skills practiced in the pre-reading phase. Pre- and post-reading exercises should complement each other in order to reinforce comprehension and promote the ability to communicate effectively in the target language across all skill areas. A consistent sequence of follow-up activities is the key to stimulating students to continue pruning and subsuming FL input. It is essential to design exercises which lead the student away from recognition/recall tasks towards analytical skills. The level of comprehension can still be determined while students are engaged in expanding their ability to interpret and evaluate FL texts. Personalized questions stimulate the student to organize and convey his personal point of view. A balanced FL reading program contributes to FL competency by focusing on practical skills and teaching students to assume responsibility and control for the learning process. In this way students are encouraged to expand their capacity to

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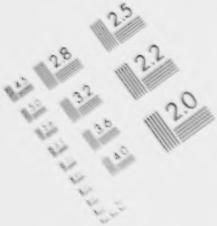

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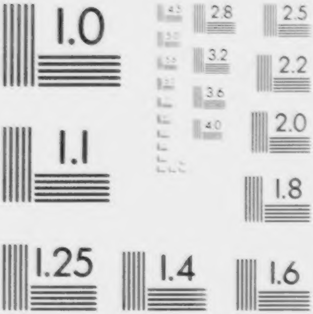

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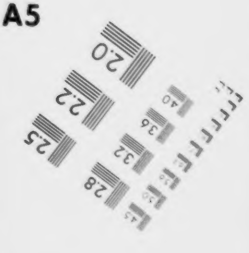

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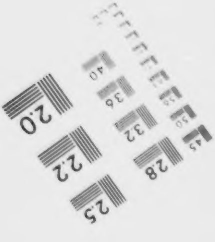

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learn in addition to understanding themselves and the world around them via the FL.

It follows that a well designed FL reading program consists of pre-reading, reading, and post-reading activities. While it is important that the various components be well integrated to provide constant reinforcement a certain degree of flexibility is necessary. It is the instructor's responsibility to adapt the method to the reading level of the class, in the process of guiding students from the known to the unknown. This is best achieved by creating a link between the reader's experience and the context of the material. The same principle applies to instruction in each of the FL skills. FL students must learn to employ those techniques which allow optimal access to the target language and culture. Consistent practice is required in order to expand each individual's linguistic and cultural filtering mechanisms.

A comprehensive approach incluces the folowing steps: assessment, preparation, practice, and evaluation. The reader's baseline skill level must be established early on in the process to check for reader/text compatibility and allow for appropriate preparation. Both linguistic and cultural orientation are necessary during the preparatory stage to provide contextual limits and focus the readers' attention on the material at hand. Readers must be actively involved from the beginning in the process of matching the FL input with their personal experience and background knowledge. Participation is greatly facilitated by teaching readers to develop and articulate expectations in the FL. Cultural information combined with lexical and syntactic exercises orient the readers and trigger them to form predictions. The readers must be drawn into the reading process as early as possible by personalizing classroom interaction. Reader-oriented pre-reading activities help students to prune the incoming data and synthesize it in personally meaningful terms. This in turn effects the readers' receptivity as well as the storage and retrieval processes. In addition students need to learn how to monitor their hypothesis-testing techniques and make the necessary adjustments. The post-reading stage is equally important because readers are engaged in deep level processing. Time must be allowed for analysis, reflection, interpretation, criticism, and conceptual restructuring if FL reading is to have a lasting impact. Evaluation can only begin once readers have organized and assimilated the FL material on the factual, interpretive, and applicative levels.[7] The worksheet format is a useful monitoring device which can be reintroduced to highlight issues and provide feed-back regarding the readers' progress. Post-reading activities must be designed to tap the skills developed during the pre-reading phase. The preparation and concluding stages are crucial to a balanced approach because they stimulate the FL student to continually improve his/her other FL skills. A well designed program promotes learning by capitalizing on the interdependency between reading, speaking, listening, and writing skills. These components complement each other and in so doing contribute to FL reading competency.

The cultural framework surrounding a text lends cohesion to the reading experience. It functions as connective tissue which binds the specific techniques and activities into a unified organizational scheme. Cultural factors are inherent to the reading act and therefore influence the reader's control over the input. This becomes obious when the cultural background of the reader and that of the text intersect in the FL classroom. It is time that the potential of this interaction was recognized and addressed directly by FL educators. The various cultural perspectives students bring to the text can be used as viable interpretive tools. They offer a valuable means for encouraging participation by engaging the reader's interest and stimulating contributions. The interface between native and target modes of categorizing experience determines how readers will form expectations and process the text. Since this is the point where comprehension gaps develop it is imperative that FL teachers deal with cultural factors influencing communication. This implies that reading instruction must focus on modifying and expanding the reader's cultural filter in an organized and consistent manner.

FL reading assignments must be tailored to accomplish the instructional goal of increasing competency via greater reader/text interaction. FL readers can only be successful to the extent that their experience permits them to impose order on the new input. As with linguistic aspects of a text readers need a concrete set of tools for processing cultural material. This is a prerequisite for accessing how the target culture categorizes experience which in turn influences how well the reader forms expectations and comprehends the text. Important areas of research which deserve immediate attention include the design of pre-instructional evaluation techniques, the development of creative FL exercises, and the refinement of testing methods which measure a student's communicative ability rather than recall and/or recognition. FL testing must be modified to reflect the progress a reader makes, as measured from his/her baseline skill level. Attempts to reform testing techniques should be geared to measuring cultural insight because traditional texts highlight the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing) giving the impression that culture is the less important fifth component. In fact second language reading skills have long been a neglected domain. Yet one outside the classroom FL students will continue to benefit from reading skills. Unlike the other FL skills, FL reading ability can be improved by independent practice and is therefore more easily retained in the long term. All of which prompts one to reexamine the status of that which has traditionally been regarded the "forgotten skill".[8] These are reasons enough to reexamine why FL reading is assigned rather than taught.

FOOTNOTES

1. Refer to Swaffar (1981), June K. Phillips, "Second Language Reading: Teaching Decoding Skills," Foreign Language Annals (1975), pp. 227-232: Renate A. Schulz, "Literature and Readibility: Bridging the Gap in Foreign Language Reading," Modern Language Journal 65 (1981), pp. 43-53 and "Second Language Reading Research: From Theory to Practice," Foreign Language Annals Vo. 17, 4 (1984), pp. 309-312.

2. Both Frank Smith and Kenneth S. Goodman have contributed to the theoretical discussions of first language reading. See Frank Smith, Psycholinguistics and Reading (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1973) and Understanding Reading, 3rd ed. (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1982) as well as Kenneth S. Goodman, "Psycholinguistic Universals in the Reading Process," in Psycholinguistics and Reading, ed. Frank Smith, (1973), pp. 21-27 and "Reading: A Psycholinguistic Guessing Game," in Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading, ed. H. Singer and R.B. Ruddell (Newark: International Reading Association Inc., 1976), pp. 467-508. Related issues in the field of FL reading are discussed in Ronald Mackay, Bruce Barkman and R.R. Jordan, "Reading in a Second Language (Rowley: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1979). This work offers the most comprehensive treatment of FL reading theories and practise with special emphasis on English as a second language (ESL). Articles by Phillips (1975), Schulz (1981), and Swaffar (1981) focus on improving FL reading comprehension. For an up to date review of FL reading from the European perspective see "Reading: A symposium" in System, 9, No. 3 (1981), ed., Udo O.H. Jung.

3. Mark A. Clarke & Sandra Silberstein, "Toward a Realization of Psycholinguistic Principles in the ESL Reading Class," in Mackay et al., p. 49: Janet King Swaffar, "Reading in the Foreign Language Classroom," Die Unterrichtspraxis 14, No. 9 (1981), 176: Constance Weaver, Psycholinguistics and Reading, (Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers Inc., 1980), pp. 131-156. For a general overview of the affective domain refer to H. Douglas Brown, "Affective Factors in Second Language Learning," in The Second Language Classroom, ed. James E. Atlatis, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 111-129.

4. The relationship between affective factors and 2L acquisition has been a focal point of psycholinguistic research since the 1970's. Empirical contributions to the field include Gardner & Lambert (1972); Brown (1973); Tucker et al. (1975); Schumann (1975); and Hamayan et al. (1977). The following theoretical publications incorporate empirical findings in their discussion of the affective domain and 2L acquisition. See Dulay and Burt (1977) and Krashen (1981) for details concerning the Affective Filter hypothesis. Stevick (1976) discusses the importance of "depth" and the defensive behaviour of Language Learners in addition to providing a practical guide for implementing affect oriented teaching methods. Bloom (1971) and Anderson (1981) both offer classifications of affective variables in behavioural terms. Extremely useful overviews of the interdisciplinary trends within FL research have been published

by Chastain (1976); Ritchie (1978); and Atlatis et al. (1981).

5. See Asher (1969, 1974); Gary (1975); and Dulay & Burt (1977). The literature devoted to NL and FL reading has continually stressed the need to acknowledge define and interpret the extralinguistic factors which contribute to comprehension. Key issues involved in deductive reasoning include inferencing discussed by Rivers (1971) and Carton (1971) and the generation of expectancies during conceptualization in Goodman (1976) and Ulijin (1980).

6. The American Council on the Teaching of Foreing Languages (ACTFL) was responsible for developing the Provisional Proficiency Guidelines for assessing the communicative competence of FL students. See Foreign Language Annals 17, No. 5 (1984), 453-459 for a detailed description of each skill. Proficiency has since become a major topic of theoretical and practical debate within the profession. As documented in Heidi Byrnes and Michael Canale eds., Defining and Developing Proficiency (Lincolnwood, IL: NTC, 1985).

7. Robert B. Ruddell (1976) categorized the range of comprehension ability observed in the FL classroom in terms of these three cognitive hierarchies. Each of these cognitive levels reflects a more intensive involvement between the reader and a text.

8. Marcelle Kellermann, The Forgotten Third Skill: Reading a Foreign Language (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981) pp. 1-5. In addition to specific quotes which are numerically footnoted publications in brackets refer to works listed in the bibliography.

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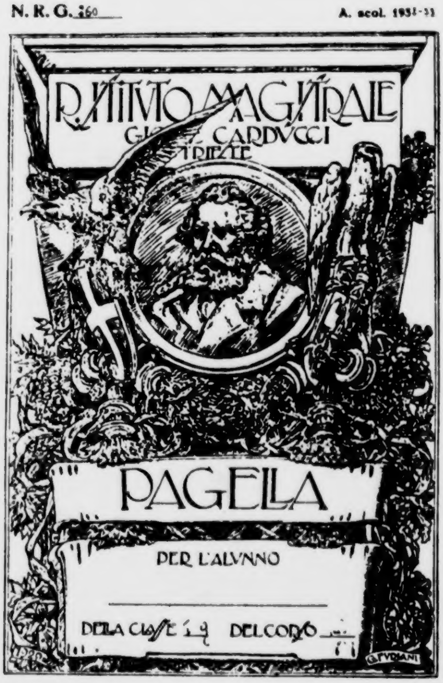
SUMMARY

This paper evolved out of concern that the foreign language (FL) profession recognize the need to revamp existing instructional techniques in order to put students in control of the learning experience. The FL reading act is defined in terms of the interplay of cognitive and affective factors which influence the learning process. In view of the new standardized scale for evaluating FL proficiency mandated by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, increased demands on educators exist to consider the process as well as the substance of FL learning.

The paper equates proficiency with a set of concrete tools which allow students to exert control over the learning process itself. The focus here is on reading practice and cultural analysis which serve as a springboard for promoting FL acquisition across all skill areas simultaneously. The key to achieving proficiency is to cultivate the learner's receptiveness to written input, by means of highly personalized activities which tap the individual's expectations regarding the reading task.

This approach recognizes written materials as the most available and practical source of FL stimuli. FL reading activities are treated as a priority by virtue of the need to capitalize on the interdependence between all FL skills, including cultural insight and translation ability. Written input is thus employed as the initial stimulus for eliciting personalized responses in both written and oral modes. The practical strategies described include base-line assessment, pre- and post-reading activities, cultural analysis, and personalized exercises. These are based on relevant research findings concerning script analysis and FL processing. The aim is to avoid a discrepancy between research and classroom contexts by linking proficiency goals to specific techniques which take into account the numerous extralinguistic variables affecting the learning process.

The stress throughout is on equipping students with the necessary tools to receive, process, and produce ever increasing amounts of FL stimuli. It is essential to keep in mind the interaction between the cultural filter underlying the reading act and the body of lexical syntactical, and phonetic components of language learning. Particular attention must be paid to the culture-specific mode of organizing information and categorizing experience while reading a foreign language. Consistent effort is required to develop a conceptual framework which can be matched to that of the text. The entire approach depends on a carefully integrated set of assessment, preparation, practice, and evaluation activities. It is hoped that such a group of coordinated learning tools will help students to continue learning independently beyond the classroom walls.



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PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

Wednesday, 3th September 1986

9.00-12.00 a.m.	**Registration** (Anti-Aula Magna, Borgo Carissimi, 10)
10.00 a.m.	**Meeting of the Committee of ISCHE** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia", Borgo Collegio Maria Luigia, 1, Sala dei Giganti)
5.00 p.m.	**First Plenary Session** (Aula Magna, Borgo Carissimi, 10) **Opening Addresses** **— Rector of Parma University** **— Dean of Faculty of Magistero** **— Chairman of the Committee** **— Chairman of the CIRSE** **— President of the Conference**
6,30 p.m.	**Lecture by Prof. Maurits De Vroede**
8.00 p.m.	**Official Reception: Dinner with piano-bar (M°Angelo Banzola and M°Claudio Magnani)** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")

Thursday, 4th September 1986

9.00 a.m.	**Working groups** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")
10.00 a.m.	**Coffee Break**
11.00 a.m.	**Working groups**
12.30 a.m.	**Lunch** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")
3.00 p.m.	**Working groups**
4.00 p.m.	**Coffee Break**
5.00 p.m.	**Reception in Town-hall**
6.00 p.m.	**Trip to the Royal Palace** of Colorno
8.30 p.m.	**Dinner** (Hotel "S. Marco")

Friday, 5th September 1986

9.00 a.m.	**Working groups** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")
10.30 a.m.	**Coffee Break**
11.00 a.m.	**Working groups**
12.30 a.m.	**Lunch** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")
3.00 p.m.	**Working groups**
4.30 p.m.	**Coffee Break**
5.00 p.m.	**Working groups**
8.00 p.m.	**Dinner** *(Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")*
9.30 p.m.	**Concert by Father Pio Benedetto Nocilli** (Abbazia di S. Giovanni Evangelista)

Saturday, 6th September 1986

9.00 a.m.	**Working groups** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia")
10.15 a.m.	**Coffee Break**
10.45 a.m.	**Lecture by Prof. Remo Fornaca** (Aula Magna, Borgo Carissimi, 10)
12.00 a.m.	**Plenary Closing Session of the ISCHE**
1.30 p.m.	**Lunch** (Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia") **and Dispersal**

GENERAL INFORMATION

Working groups

Discussion in working groups is based on printed papers. It is possible to distinguish between papers for discussion and papers for information.

The papers will be not lectured at the meetings of the working groups. The authors are requested to sum up their papers in 10-15 minutes.

Working languages of the Conference are **English, French and Italian**. For each working group the support of the interpreter will be provided.

For the Plenary Sessions simultaneous translation will be provided.

The Coordinators of Working groups are the following:

1° Working group: Proff. **F.P. HAGER** and **J. HERBST**;
2° Working group: Proff. **B. DE GRAEVE** and **J. DYBIEC**;
3° Working group: Proff. **P. CUNNINGHAM** and **M. KUIKKA**
4° Working group: Proff. **M. DE VROEDE** and **G. OSSENBACH-SAUTER**;
5° Working group: Proff. **R. FORNACA** and **W. FRIJHOFF**;
6° Working group: Proff. **J.L. GARCIA GARRIDO** and **G. UHLING**.

Please the Coordinators expound at the Plenary Closing Session a short synthesis of their working group discussion.

Place of the Conference and of the collateral working groups

The places of Conference (Reception, Plenary session, working groups, Lunch, Dinner) are indicated in the Program of the Conference.

The **Working group for the Early Childhood Education** and the **Group "Education and Enlightenment"** take place in the Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia".

The owerninght staies of Conference members will be in the Casa-Albergo Universitario (Via Pasini, 1 or Piazzale Bertozzi) or in the Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia". Each Conference member will be informed in detail at the moment of the registration (Anti-Aula Magna, Borgo Carissimi, 10).

From Via Pasini (or Piazzale Bertozzi) to the University (Borgo Carissimi, 10) or the Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia" please go by bus (n. 3 or 4 or 9).

For all Conference members the continental breakfast is served in the Convitto Nazionale "Maria Luigia" **from 8.00 a.m. to 9.00 a.m.**

N.B.

Relating to various problems
(information, accomodation, menu, payements,etc.) please
apply to the Conference Office in Borgo Carissimi 10,
(Tel. 39032) or, during the working groups, in Convitto
Nazionale Maria Luigia.

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